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The National Municipal Review

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NEWS for League Members

Citizen Responsibility Is Keynote

Spotlighted at the first luncheon meeting of the National Conference on Government, November 8-11, at the Jefferson Hotel in Richmond, Virginia, Monday, November 9, will be the keynote address by H. Bruce Palmer, president of the Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company, Newark, New Jersey, who will speak on "Citizen Responsibility."

Mr. Palmer, former president of the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce, is chairman of the Committee for Young Men in Government. Short

welcoming talks will be given by Governor John S. Battle of Virginia, Mayor Edward E. Haddock of Richmond, and Edwin Hyde, president of the Richmond Chamber of Commerce. L. E. Marlowe, League Council member and chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements, will preside.

Former Lieutenant Governor Frank C. Moore of New York, president of the Government Affairs Foundation, Inc., will speak at the Tuesday luncheon. Wednesday's closing luncheon will feature a talk by former Governor Charles Edison of New Jersey, chairman of the League's Council.

Henry Bruère, chairman of the board of the Bowery Savings Bank and president of the National Municipal League, and George Gallup, president of the

American Institute of Public Opinion, will speak at the Tuesday night dinner.

As in previous years, Dr. Gallup will be foreman of the jury of the All-America Cities contest. Mr. Palmer and Mr. Bruère will also serve on the jury, in addition to Arthur W. Bromage, University of Michigan; Harold S. Buttenheim, editor, *The American City*; Richard S. Childs, chairman of the League's Executive Committee; Mrs. Hiram Houghton, assistant director of the Mutual Security Agency; Mrs. John G. Lee, president, League of Women Voters of the United States; Vernon C. Myers, publisher, LOOK magazine; Leo Perlis, national director, National CIO Community Services Committee, and Donald H. Webster, University of Washington.



Mrs. Hiram Houghton

Following preliminary activities on Sunday, the Conference will begin full-scale operations on Monday morning with a series of panel sessions on various topics. During the three working days of the Conference, there will be some 25 morning and afternoon sessions.

A committee of Richmond laymen and educators interested in civic education, under the chairmanship of Ed. P. Phillips, plans to make use of the Conference to stimulate civic education in Richmond schools. The committee

(Continued on next page)

Robinson Elected to Council

Philip K. Robinson, vice president of the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company, Milwaukee, has been elected to the League's Council. He succeeds Max E. Friedmann, also of Milwaukee.

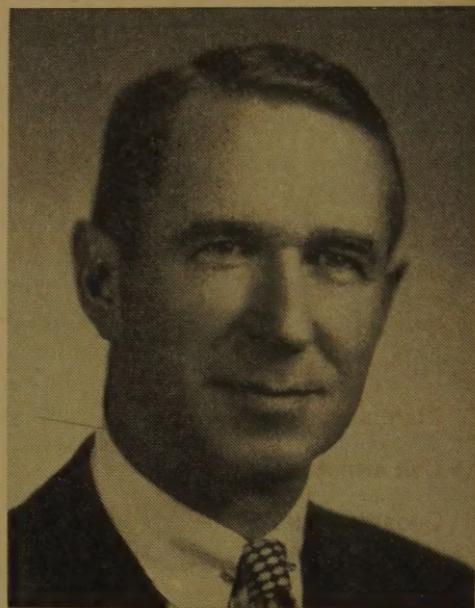
Mr. Robinson, a graduate of the University of Wisconsin, was formerly vice president of the Milwaukee Company and manager of the Municipal Bond Department of Morris Fox and Company.

He is a member of the executive committee of the Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau in Milwaukee; president, Milwaukee County Annuity and Pension Board; director, Milwaukee Art Institute; member, executive committee, Milwaukee County American Red Cross; member, board of governors, and vice chairman, American National Red Cross; and chairman, board of trustees, Milwaukee County War Memorial Center. He served two terms on the Milwaukee County Board of Supervisors and was formerly general chairman, Milwaukee County Community Chest campaign, and director, Milwaukee County Community War Fund.

Conference

(Continued from page 433)

is organizing a special session Monday morning on "Youth in Civic Affairs" under the chairmanship of Mr. Phillips. Plans are also in the making to have Conference speakers appear at special assemblies in all Richmond high schools and colleges. The high point will be a meeting at John Marshall High School at which Governor Edison will speak following the Wednesday luncheon meeting. Richmond high school students will put on "Ballad for Americans," written by a John Marshall High School graduate. All persons attending the Conference are cordially invited to attend.



Philip K. Robinson

State Civil Service Law Model Now Available

A Model State Civil Service Law, prepared jointly by the National Municipal League and National Civil Service League, has just been published.

A 32-page booklet, this new publication is a guide for state legislatures, administrative officials, citizen organizations and others interested in adoption of sound principles of personnel administration. In addition to representing the composite views of the two organizations, the model law is a consensus of the opinion of many of the nation's outstanding authorities on civil service administration who have dealt with the practical aspects of recruiting, examining and managing public personnel and also with the technical and legal problems involved.

Price of the booklet is 75 cents. It may be obtained by writing either to the National Municipal League or to the National Civil Service League, 40 East 40th Street, New York.

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Who Killed Cock Robin?

AT THE recent convention of the American Political Science Association, a distinguished and thoughtful educator wondered out loud whether "reform" organizations were guilty of "sterilizing" and weakening the political parties at the community level.

If by sterilizing he means cleansing, it is to be hoped the answer is "Yes"; and there is a large mass of evidence to prove that the leadership, principles and morals of party organizations have improved vastly in hundreds of cities *after* citizens have acted in nonpartisan fashion to win fundamental progress or have insisted on nonpartisan local elections.

If, however, he means that reformers have destroyed people's confidence in politicians and political parties as they operate in communities, he gives these independent citizens more credit than they deserve.

Here, too, the evidence is overwhelming that the politicians and political parties have by their own conduct brought disrepute to the words "politics" and "politicians" to the end that a majority of United States communities have nonpartisan local elections and more of them are moving in that direction.

Old-style politics stands indicted on many counts. Voter apathy stems from the confusions and frustrations of trying to choose between two or more candidates, whose inadequacy causes voters to ask, "Why bother to vote?" Unwillingness to dirty their hands, resort to double talk or play the hypocrite discourages able, high

grade persons from offering themselves for party nominations to public office. By far the major part of the progress in the conduct of local government has been achieved without partisan leadership and, indeed, in the face of the united opposition of political parties.

The growing disenchantment of people in general with politics and politicians is, as our educator believes, a serious and tragic thing. It is not good when seven out of ten parents abhor the idea of having a son or daughter go into politics, as the opinion polls show. The principles of self-government are not sterilized but emasculated when parties find it necessary to "perfume the ticket" by nominating an obvious amateur who can look as if he has never been inside the club house and is innocent of the facts of political life. Politics is a business of prime importance to all the people. It should command the respect and continuing participation, not the contempt and avoidance, of our best citizens.

One proven way to get more of the right people into the political act is to divorce municipal politics from the national parties. It often takes a person with a pretty dull conscience or insensitive nose to "go down the line" for the party hacks running for local office on a ticket with the statesman who may be the party candidate for governor or president. It is much easier for thoughtful people to be active in both local and national politics when

they are not required to pretend that the same party is necessarily offer-

ing the public the best deal at all levels.

City and State

MORE than a century ago Alexis de Tocqueville wrote about the significance of the town in the development of the American democracy and about the difference between state and local governments. Today the mayors of American cities and the governors of American states appear to be reenacting the old conflict in their approaches to the President on the question of federal powers. The cities now, as in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, seem to be closer to the people and more responsive to their social needs than the states. In this age of urbanization, the states have tended to remain more rural and more responsive to organized and conservative pressures. So the governors talk to the president about states' rights and the reduction of the federal power, while the mayors complain to him about the backwardness of the states and the need for full federal responsibility in the growing task of government.

Mayor Hartsfield of Atlanta complained bluntly that the states are dominated by "rural thinking," yet the great majority of the people are urban dwellers. Many cities now have larger budgets than some states, and New York City has an annual budget second only to that of the federal government. One of the reasons, of course, for the expansion of the federal power in this century is that states refused to re-

spond to the demands of an industrial society and cities lacked the means adequately to do so. Many state legislatures, moreover, are restricted in their activity by the power of special interest groups of one kind or another.

The problem is apparent in civilian defense now. This is an urban question that cannot be left to the states alone, especially those dominated by "rural thinking." It would be carrying the analogy much too far to suggest that the city today has the same role to play that the New England town had 150 or 200 years ago. But the city is regaining the importance in American life that the town possessed in the early days of this country. Governmental ideas again need to be thrashed out on the local level.

Some states are responding to the challenge. But it does little good, as the mayors have said, to talk states' rights when the power of the cities is undermined by inadequate representation in legislatures. Nowhere in America, said Tocqueville, do the people "exercise their power more immediately" than in the township. "The American Revolution broke out and the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people came out of the townships and took possession of the state." If we wish to reduce the sweep of the federal government in the affairs of the people, we must give more attention specifically to the needs of the cities.

Use and Abuse of Authorities

Rapid increase as cure-all for public problems called serious peril to preservation of democratic government.

By JOSEPH E. McLEAN*

THE great name of Sam Houston is presently attached to a toll road corporation that has been granted a charter to build privately financed toll roads in various parts of Texas. In Virginia three private companies have been chartered for the purpose of constructing toll roads. In other states, however, the highway function of general government has been abdicated to special public agencies or authorities established to construct and operate toll highways.¹ And the authority device is being used increasingly for the administration of a wide variety of governmental activities.

The trend toward a greater dependence upon special authorities, as compared with general government, has alarmed many students and statesmen who fear that large chunks of government operations and responsibilities are being removed from democratic controls; there is the threat that a quasi-public government quite remote and unresponsive is developing.

The trend is evidenced in the Census Bureau's count of governmental

units. In the ten-year period 1942 to 1952 the number of governmental units in the United States declined from 155,116 to 116,743. This is obviously encouraging to civic reformers who have long advocated fewer, but better integrated, units of government as one way of reducing the citizen's "span of control" problem. The Census Bureau's figures, however, reveal one major disturbing exception to the over-all trend: the number of special districts increased by almost 50 per cent from 8,279 to 12,319. A significant addition to the special district category is the special authority as used at the state and local government levels. A recent comprehensive survey of public authorities covered 42 major authorities at the state level alone.²

Another tangible evidence of the authority trend lies in the sharply increased use of nonguaranteed bonds, which are not backed by the full faith and credit of the state or local government involved. This is a major element in the expansion of gross state and local debt since 1946. Although such bonds have been used frequently in the past to finance municipally owned utilities, their principal new uses are in connection with toll roads and toll bridges at the state level and with parking centers in the cities.³

*Dr. McLean is associate professor of politics and public affairs at Princeton University and a consultant to governmental and private agencies. He is author of *State and Local Government* (Rinehart and Company, New York, 1953) and *Politics Is What You Make It* (Public Affairs Pamphlets, New York, 1952).

¹See "Toll Roads and Toll Authorities," *State Government*, June 1953.

²Council of State Governments, *Public Authorities in the States*, Chicago, 1953.

³See Karl O. Nygaard, "State and

Perhaps the most disturbing evidence of the trend is to be found almost daily in press and other reports of the most prevalent answer offered to any and every governmental problem: "Let's create an authority." Whether the problem be concerned with collecting garbage, operating an incinerator, supplying water, constructing an office building or controlling crime on the waterfront, and whether the problem be purely local, intrastate or intergovernmental in character, the magic solution of an "authority" is suggested by both public officials and private citizens.

'Authoritycin'

This new miracle drug—named here "authoritycin" (patent pending)—has not yet been officially approved by the medical and pharmaceutical fraternities, but it is advertised as a wondrous mixture of faith-healing, pain-killing and hair-restoring—or removing, if you prefer—remedies. In addition, it is guaranteed to overcome constitutional infirmities, such as debt limitations; to increase the leisure time of governors, legislators and other elected officials by delegating their worries to irresponsible parties; and, in general, to put the patient in such a state of well-being that even the medical bill can be taken painlessly. And miracles of miracles, "authoritycin" lifts the "thing"—whatever public service is concerned—right out of politics and places it in a new nonpolitical world in which the public interest is defined and decisions

are made on a foolproof, slide-rule basis.

A brief look at the implications of the continued use of this miracle drug is the purpose of this article.

Luther Gulick has defined an authority as "a governmental business corporation set up outside of the normal structure of traditional government so that it can give continuity, business efficiency and elastic management to the construction or operation of a self-supporting or revenue-producing public enterprise." A similar definition appears in the Council of State Government's comprehensive survey of *Public Authorities in the States*:

"Public authorities generally are corporate bodies authorized by legislative action to function outside of the regular structure of state government in order to finance and construct and usually to operate revenue-producing public enterprises. Their organizational structures and powers are of the type usually associated with public corporations and, like the latter, they have relative administrative autonomy.

"Public authorities are authorized to issue their own revenue bonds, which ordinarily do not constitute debt within the meaning of constitutional debt limitations, since they are required to meet their obligations from their own resources. They lack the power to levy taxes, but are empowered to collect fees or other charges for use of their facilities, devoting the resulting revenue to payment of operational expenses and of interest and principal on their debts.

"The characteristics of public authorities contrast with those of traditional state agencies in various ways. The latter ordinarily lack corporate status. Their activities generally are financed out of current tax revenues or through borrowing, in which case the bonds pledge the full faith and credit of the state. Their functions usually comprise services which, by general consent, should be paid for by the public as a whole—rather than administration of public business enterprises which sell services to consumers. Since they are supported directly out of tax revenues, their operations usually are subject to more direct supervision by the legislature, the governor and other executive agencies than is the case with authorities."

The Port of New York Authority is probably the outstanding example of the authority device at the state level. Its record of financial and technical success has had much to do with the present popularity of the authority device.

According to Frederick L. Bird, the Port of New York Authority is an "authority" in the fullest sense of the definition: "While it is a governmental agency, with immunity from taxation and from various regulatory restrictions imposed on private enterprise, it is able to operate like an efficient business corporation and to plan and conduct the functions delegated to it in an independent manner, without the uncertainties arising from frequently changing political controls and policies that affect the regular administrative divisions of government. Having its own reve-

nues, from fully self-supporting enterprises, it is not dependent on the state legislatures for appropriations, but can adopt its own budgets and manage its own finances."⁴

Looking at the definition of authority and at the Port of New York Authority as a leading example, we may note: (1) emphasis upon the advantages of the corporate device—elasticity and continuity of management, presumed greater efficiency, etc.; (2) accent upon the revenue producing nature of the enterprise; (3) the desire to escape from the hazards of political life.

It should be noted, however, that the Port Authority is exceptional in these respects: (1) The bi-state character of the problems involved; (2) its tradition of success in the greatest and most complex metropolitan area in the nation—success as measured by its ability to attract able men to the commission, by its excellent personnel system, by its competence in many technical fields; and (3) a certain degree of public control is exercised over its operations, particularly through a veto power provided by law for the governors of New York and New Jersey.

All too frequently, authorities are being established that lack the bi-state justification, that are not meeting even minimum standards of personnel administration and technical competence and that are virtually exempt from any control by the elected governing powers responsible to the people.

⁴Frederick L. Bird, *A Study of the Port of New York Authority*. New York, Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., 1949, page 33.

In his stimulating story *Civic Victories*⁵—which might also have been entitled *Civic Defeats*—Richard S. Childs laid down three rules for democracy: (1) Elective offices must be visible, (2) the constituency must be wieldy, (3) governments must be well integrated.

Integrated Government

These rules are directly or indirectly violated by the present proliferation of special authorities. Particular violence is done to the third rule, especially when the authorities are set up outside the framework of general government. The centrifugal or disintegrating impact of the independent authority trend—if this assumption be correct—should be disturbing to the civic reformer who, after laboring long in the civic vineyard, finds himself on a treadmill teaching futilely for his elusive goal of simplified, integrated, responsible government.

Most reformers have espoused the integrative principle as exemplified in diverse areas: the movement in the finance area toward the executive budget and against the dedicated fund principle; the movement in favor of the short ballot; the efforts to reduce the number of governmental units through consolidation and annexation; the attempts to concentrate executive authority and responsibility.

Civic efforts aimed at constitutional reform or toward attaining new municipal charters have stressed the advantages of an integrated administrative framework—streamlining

government, reducing the number of agencies, eliminating independent boards and commissions. Hence, it is strange to find a state, New Jersey, achieving a modern, progressive constitution in 1947, combining scores of state agencies into fourteen major departments in 1948 and then, in the same year, reversing the field by establishing a fifteenth major agency—a second highway department—in the form of an independent turnpike authority. To a large extent, the governmental progress achieved after years of painful civic effort has been nullified by the tendency to take “normal” functions away from the normal agencies of government and turn them over to new autonomous agencies that are quasi-public, quasi-private and, if one may be facetious, just plain quasi-quasi.

Perhaps the ideal of simplified, integrated government is wrong. If it is, it is time we recognized that fact.

Authority Efficient?

It is assumed by its proponents that the authority has all the virtues—real or imagined—of private business management. Before we adopt the authority device wholesale, it would be wise to test this assumption. Obviously, efficiency standards vary from one private corporation to another. The same is true of public corporations. The Tennessee Valley Authority at the federal level and the Port of New York Authority at the state level have been justifiably proud of their merit personnel systems.

It is all too simple, however, to

transfer this superior efficiency to all authorities. In one state authority with which this observer is familiar, personnel appointments are cleared with county party organizations; modern personnel methods are decidedly absent. Also, many contracts purportedly were cleared through political channels. And there is every indication that highways built by this authority cost substantially more per mile than those built by the highway department of the same state. Where then lies the superior efficiency of this authority? The major justification for establishing this authority seems to have been the "practical" necessity of evading a constitutional debt limitation, which would have necessitated a referendum vote by the people on any proposed bond issue.

Nonpolitical Myth

In the same state, the nonpolitical chairman of a nonpolitical turnpike authority is currently the candidate of his party for the high office of governor. As a candidate in a primary campaign, he refused to resign from his nonpolitical post. And, as the general election approaches, he is still serving as the chief executive of what his major primary opponent termed the "patronage pike."

In defense of this candidate it should be noted that, although doing a disservice to the nonpolitical concept of the authority, he is honestly reflecting the political character of his and every authority.

As Luther Gulick observed, "In some situations an authority created in a burst of high civic enthusiasm

for efficient service and staffed with men of strength and character can rise above the traditional politics and low morality of the government which set them up." But Gulick recognized that even such a high-minded climate does not put an end to politics:

"The vital political problems which arise in government are not the questions of patronage. They are the questions of basic social and economic policy which serve to give fundamental direction to social and economic forces. For example, a port authority has the power to determine whether a community as a whole will expand as a raw material center or as a manufacturing center by the priorities which it gives to port facilities, loading and unloading equipment, wharfage rates and rail and road connections.

"Toll rates on bridges will determine the rapidity of suburban development and the rise of real estate values as well as the time of obsolescence of prior investments in ferries and commuter rail services. The location of inland terminals, the creation of central bus facilities, the elimination of grade crossings, the arrangement of tunnel entrances and exits will determine the immediate and ultimate fate of entire neighborhoods, piling value increments here and destroying values there in spectacular fashion.

"Such a simple matter as the location of the express stops on the rapid transit system decided whether a street will be developed with high rental properties or with more modest shops and apartments. Simi-

urly, zone fares on city transit systems and the system of water rates or electric power rates cannot fail to create their patterns of realty and housing developments and to influence the distribution of wealth and welfare for the people of the area.

"We have come to realize that freight rates can dominate the economic development of whole sections of the country. The same forces are at work wherever an authority makes its decisions on location of facilities, nature and distribution of services, rules and regulations for their use and rates for services. Because these decisions cannot be made without a weighing of the needs of the people and of their effects upon the distribution of wealth and welfare, they are political decisions of the most fundamental sort."⁶

And one is impelled to agree with Gulick when he says: "While authorities are designed in part to take their operation 'out of politics,' the nature of this insulation must not be misunderstood. Nor must it be thought that the creation of an authority puts an end to political discussions or transmutes matters of political and social policy into pure matters of fact soluble in engineering and business terms."⁷

The Basic Problem

All too frequently, the authority device is being used as a lazy official's approach to the problem of government. It is essentially an expedient to evade some constitutional

debt limitation or be "practical," which may mean avoiding a basic approach to a basic problem. Thus, in defense of municipal authorities in Pennsylvania, Charles F. LeeDecker stated:

"Legal complications involved in the issuing of bonds by a municipality have helped to spur the growth of the authority. Borrowing capacity of a municipality is limited by assessments which in most cases have changed little in the past twenty years while operating expenses for municipalities have skyrocketed. The authority has proved a practical solution."⁸

It is a truism that assessment practices are exceedingly difficult to change, but in very real and practical terms we should recognize why we are turning to the authority device and we should weigh carefully the implications of expedient action. Indeed, the same release concerning Pennsylvania municipal authorities had this concluding note:

"While the authority makes possible flexible financing, independent operation, business-like management with greater continuity, and greater

⁶Press release, March 16, 1952, from Department of Public Information, Pennsylvania State College. The same release noted: "By the end of 1951 more than 400 authorities had been established and 232 were in operation in Pennsylvania. The most popular types are water works, public school buildings and sewage disposal authorities, in that order.

"By the end of 1951, authorities in Pennsylvania had issued more than \$150,000,000 in bonds. In 1950 there were more than 48 issues totalling \$52,000,000, as compared to 125 issues totalling \$27,000,000 issued directly by local governments."

⁷Luther Gulick, "'Authorities' and How to Use Them," *The Tax Review*, November 1947, pages 50-51.

⁸*Ibid.*, page 50.

incentive to efficiency because of the lack of taxing power, LeeDecker points out that it also has the disadvantage of increasing the number of governments in a community, depriving the voter of direct responsibility and in many cases may be more costly to finance."

Danger of Default

A further danger has been suggested by Reuben A. Lazarus in his review of *The Law of Public Corporations* by Burton Andrews:⁹

"The statutes which establish them authorize authorities to issue bonds and to charge rates and fees for the use of the services they furnish under governmental aegis in order to redeem such bonds. Who of us, for instance, has considered the full import of the fact that upon default of principal or interest on such bonds, the service furnished by the authority can be taken over by the owner of the bonds—a bank, an individual or a group of individuals, *private* individuals—with power to operate the service and charge fees, *any* fees sufficient to pay the principal and interest on the bonds? Who of us realizes that the service so rendered is not subject to regulation by any other public body? Wasteful management could be condoned and the rates or charges for the service increased with impunity to any level. It will be rewarding to examine any

of the authority acts and to read with care the section each such act contains entitled 'Remedies of Bondholders.'

Without attempting to sermonize, this observer cannot help but point to the enervating effects of frequent uses of "authoritycin." We are trying to evade constitutional or statutory debt or taxing limitations; we are refusing to face up to government-wide problems of poor personnel, financial and administrative practices; we are advocating basic reorganizational efforts on the one hand and then nullifying them with a series of weak-brained efforts on the other; we avoid politics by playing a new and perhaps dirtier kind of "nonpolitics." We are promoting a new type of government that may prove to be not only nonprofit and nonpolitical, but nonsensical as well.

Roy V. Peel has observed that even Beard might agree that "simplicity may be the essence of tyranny. It is usually in complexity that we find liberty." Peel, however, added, "But . . . complexity need not be confusion."¹⁰ An overdose of "authoritycin" may produce not only confusion but may serve as an embalming fluid in the body politic. General government is in danger of being superseded by a set of authority-type ganglia directed by a small, weak brain.

⁹Matthew Bender and Company, 1951. Reviewed in *Albany Law Review*, January 1952.

¹⁰Roy V. Peel, *State Government Today*, University of New Mexico Press, 1948, page 147.

Coordinating Disaster Relief

Head of Federal Civil Defense Administration discusses national, state and local relations in a vital field.

By VAL PETERSON*

THE administration of disaster relief as a federally-coordinated government function emphasizes the need for a reexamination of federal-state-local relationships.

In our cooperative federal system there is some fusion and overlapping among the elements of government. The lines between the spheres of responsibility are not rigid and this is inevitable and right. Nevertheless, each element of government has its primary sphere and will remain strong only if it performs well in that sphere and does not seek to usurp responsibilities that properly belong to others.

President Eisenhower is concerned with this interrelationship and in connection with governmental reorganization has created a National Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. Speaking recently on this subject and of this commission to the assembled state governors, the President stated that unless we find a satisfactory method of dividing responsibilities between the federal government and the states, the result "will not be the American system." He indicated that when government is rightly kept close to the people

the federal government will then be called in only when there is a "clear service it can perform."

In the case of coordination of disaster relief efforts the federal government has such a clear service to perform. The Federal Civil Defense Administration has been designated the key agency to achieve this coordination.

Let us review briefly recent developments in the disaster relief picture.

The utilization of civil defense organizations in peacetime disasters was not a primary objective in planning the civil defense program, which is less than three years old. Such use, however, is now commonplace.

In 1952, beginning with major air crashes in Elizabeth, New Jersey, in February and continuing with death-dealing highway bus crashes, fires, tornadoes, earthquakes and the nationally disastrous spring floods, civil defense organizations—federal, state and local—did yeoman work. In 1953, the spring and early summer storms and tornadoes found civil defense on the job and, because of experience gained in previous disasters, more efficient.

Civil defense planning with its dispersed control centers proved to be of unprecedented effectiveness. Mobile support and mutual aid plans, an extension of older intercommunity fire and police assistance agreements, were invaluable. It is now generally agreed that in civil

*Mr. Peterson, former governor of Nebraska, 1951-1952 chairman of the Governor's Conference, former chairman of the Missouri River States Committee and a member of the Missouri Basin Inter-agency Committee, is administrator of the Federal Civil Defense Administration.

defense the nation has acquired a major new community dimension in peacetime and all-time security.

Initial efforts of the Federal Civil Defense Administration to furnish emergency disaster assistance to needed areas were somewhat hampered by conflicting authority or lack of authority. There was also some confusion in the states. For example, during the 1952 ruinous floods, governors of four states were quick to appoint their respective state civil defense directors as administrators of all flood disaster operations. Eleven other states contemplating such action found that no clear legal authority existed and civil defense workers were empowered to act under various stop-gap "interpretations" of authority.

Relations Reevaluated

It is natural then that there has been subsequent reevaluation of federal, state and local civil defense legislation and authority as affecting peacetime disaster operations.

The following chronology of major legislation, agreements and orders relating to federal participation in, and coordination of, disaster relief is informative.

September 30, 1950. Public Law 875—81st Congress. Federal assistance to states and local governments in major disasters authorized by Congress.

March 2, 1951. Executive Order 10221. The Housing and Home Finance Administration ordered to extend its facilities to implement PL 875.

August 3, 1951. Public Law 107—82nd Congress. PL 875 amended to permit housing relief in major disasters.

October 1, 1952. Army Regulations 500-60, "Emergency Employment of

Army Resources—Disaster Relief." Responsibility and policy of the Army and Army relationship to Red Cross activities prescribed.

January 16, 1953. Executive Order 10427. Planned participation of all federal agencies concerned with natural disasters ordered and the Federal Civil Defense Administrator designated as coordinator of such joint disaster relief.

February 6, 1953. Statement of Understanding Between the FCDA and The American National Red Cross Relating to Disaster Operations under Executive Order 10427 and PL 875. FCDA agreed to encourage state and local civil defense organizations to assist and cooperate with Red Cross. The Red Cross agreed to urge local chapters to similar cooperation. It was agreed that funds authorized under PL 875 are not to be used to reimburse states and localities for expenditures made by them within the area of Red Cross disaster responsibility and federal funds are not to be regarded as a substitute for the voluntary contributions from which Red Cross draws its funds.

Four supplements to the Statement of Understanding outline conditions of *Interchange of Information* (March 20, 1953), *Utilization of Federal Resources* (April 1, 1953), *Issuance of Information* (August 1953) and *Functions of ARC and Federal Agencies Concerned with Natural Disaster Relief in the Field of Welfare Service* (August 1953).

May 12, 1953. Department of the Army Special Regulations SR 500-60-5—"Emergency Employment of Army Resources—Assistance to State and Local Governments in Major Disasters." Army advised personnel of FCDA plans and relationship of military assistance.

June 10, 1953. Memorandum of Understanding Between U. S. Civil Service Commission and FCDA Concerning Responsibilities in Disaster Operations. Civil service designated to handle emer-

gency personnel matters in event of a natural disaster.

July 16, 1953. Memorandum of Understanding Between Department of Health, Education and Welfare and FCDA Concerning Responsibilities in Disaster Operations Other Than Those Induced by Enemy Attack.

July 16, 1953. Statement of Understanding Between FCDA and the U. S. Coast Guard. Coast Guard and FCDA procedures in natural disasters coordinated.

July 16, 1953. Donation or Loan of Federal Surplus Property to State and Local Governments for Use in Major Disasters. FCDA explained Public Law 84-83rd Congress which amends PL 75 to allow agreements between state governors or state civil defense directors, when authorized, and the FCDA regional director, for loan, use and return of federal surplus property.

July 31, 1953. Delegation of Certifying Authority for Counties or Parishes Areas Determined by the President to Major Disaster Areas under Public Law 875, When Operating Under Public Law 115. The Department of Agriculture as administrator of Public Law 115, which authorizes \$150,000,000 for federal assistance to farmers and stockmen, authorized by FCDA to certify individual counties or parishes eligible for seed, seed and loans after a major natural disaster.

The states are taking action in the field of enabling legislation. In 33 states and five territories and possessions, civil defense forces are now authorized by state law to combat natural disasters.

Here is how the plan works.

The President has delegated certain authority to the Federal Civil Defense Administrator to act for him in natural disasters whenever the governor of any state requests

federal assistance. The governor's request is turned over to the FCDA for study and recommendations on action and granting of funds. Whenever the President declares a "major disaster," FCDA is authorized to carry out recommendations the President has approved.

The administrator becomes responsible for the expenditure of disaster funds authorized by the President. His statutory responsibility is to provide "maximum mobilization of federal assistance" in equipment, supplies, facilities, personnel and other resources; to undertake work essential to the preservation of life and property, the clearing of debris, the emergency repair or temporary replacement of public facilities. He may distribute medicine, food or other supplies.

Use of Disaster Funds

Disaster funds are limited by the act to emergency repairs and temporary replacements. They are intended only to help the stricken area to pick itself up. The act does not give the administrator discretion to finance permanent restoration. Such financing must be the subject of special enactment to fit each situation after the disaster is brought under control.

From the moment the President approves the FCDA recommendation that a disaster is "major," FCDA has authority to call on the resources of all federal departments or agencies. The various agencies often have equipment and expendable materials and know where to get more when funds are provided. The resources include professional

and skilled personnel, able to advise or supervise such operations as emergency evacuation, shelter, clothing, mass feeding of humans and animals, water supply, sanitation and sewerage.

The law gives FCDA a responsibility not only of assuring orderly assistance to states and local governments after disaster strikes but also of assuring preparedness, "fostering the development of such state and local organizations and plans as may be necessary."

Regional Organization

Operating responsibility in the field is delegated by FCDA to its regional offices, which are responsible both in natural disasters and wartime emergencies for assistance to states and communities, especially where state lines have to be crossed. Preparedness is established on the history of recurrent disasters in each regional area.

Through its regional organization, FCDA has been able to assemble recommendations for action from its specialists at the scene, and to evaluate them rapidly for the President, while disasters struck, one after another or even at the same time, at different points.

Various and widespread federal services have been mobilized and co-ordinated almost immediately at the disaster scene.

For instance, by direction given the Department of Agriculture, FCDA provided emergency feeding for livestock in the flooded sections of Louisiana. The U. S. Public Health Service reported difficulty in

moving its critically needed supplies into the Texas flood areas; FCDA arranged for Navy planes to fly them in. Civil defense obtained Army planes to carry blood plasma for the Red Cross into tornado-devastated Waco and San Angelo, Texas.

Floods which have had FCDA attention occurred this spring and early summer in Louisiana, Montana, Texas, Kansas, North Dakota, Georgia, Oklahoma, Maine, Iowa, Wisconsin, New Hampshire, Nebraska, Mississippi and California. Tornadoes struck in Georgia, Nebraska, Minnesota, Texas, Michigan, Ohio, Massachusetts, Alabama and Tennessee.

Even when a disaster is not pronounced "major," FCDA has responsibility for coordinating such federal assistance as may be available. For instance, the Texas flood brought the U. S. Public Health Service into action in the area. After a Nebraska tornado, where damage was chiefly to farm buildings and livestock, the assistance was limited to "disaster" credit from the Farmers Home Administration. After the Georgia tornado at Warner-Robins and Columbus, a declaration of limited disaster brought into action the emergency credit functions of the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

Preliminary allocations of funds have been made in recent months for tornado disaster relief in communities in Massachusetts, Michigan and Texas; for flood disaster relief in communities in Iowa, Louisiana, Montana and Texas; for drought disaster relief in Arkansas, Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma, New Mexico and

Texas; and for forest fire disaster relief in New Hampshire.

It is evident that in natural disasters the intent of the federal government is to provide assistance to the state, and through the state to local governments, only when such assistance is sought and when the federal government has a clear service to perform.

There are many areas in the coordination and administration of disaster relief to be clarified in the matter of federal-state-local government relationships. Because individual states vary in their approach to the matter, a uniform national pattern will take a long time to evolve.

Evaluations are difficult to make at this early stage in the history of federal coordination of disaster relief. It is safe to say, however, that in those areas where general civil defense planning for national security on the home front has been most nearly perfected, the coordination of disaster relief by FCDA and emergency assistance by civil defense organizations have been most effective.

Defense Planning Practical

The by-product has been the assurance gained that civil defense planning is practical and will work under fire. Volunteer civil defense

workers have already compiled an enviable record in rescue work and in minimizing property damage in our peacetime disasters.

Tiresome drill and detailed preparation have paid off. They will continue to pay off if we take home-front preparedness seriously. President Eisenhower, speaking recently on the matter of taking civil defense seriously, stated: "As it is today, suppose we had an emergency in a department store in Seattle. Any American would feel self-conscious if you gave him a job of, let's say, going out and helping drag out fire hose or standing out on the sidewalk with a pocketful of sand. He would feel self-conscious. Now there is where the job of leadership has to work. How are we going to get Americans to do these things seriously and soberly and knowing them necessary?"

I believe a good answer to the President's question came out of the recent tornado disaster in Worcester, Massachusetts. The civil defense director of that city, where he and his staff and volunteer civil defense workers did a remarkably fine job, said: "They may have laughed at our practice sessions but I don't see anyone laughing at us now and I don't think they ever will again."

Employees Study City Forms

Discussions of Sound Government Committee of Johnson & Johnson promote understanding of municipal structure.

By DAVID J. GALLIGAN*

SOUND government is our business—yours and mine. Around this central theme a group of civic-conscious executive, supervisory and technical employees of Johnson & Johnson in New Brunswick, New Jersey, as well as affiliated companies throughout the nation, have developed a program designed to stimulate a sense of community responsibility among plant employees.

In mid-1951, General Robert W. Johnson, chairman of the board of Johnson & Johnson, conceived the idea of establishing an informal, nonpartisan and voluntary committee to study the various aspects of our government and its relation to the individual citizen.

From this embryonic idea was born the Sound Government Committee. The original membership of nine increased to 1,850 in less than two years. Members included the managerial force of the major Johnson & Johnson plant areas of New Jersey, Illinois and Georgia. The committee endeavored to be strictly nonpartisan. All shades of political opinion were represented. The committee was not designed to act as an instrument or spokesman of management or labor; its chief concern was

to arouse civic interest among Johnson & Johnson employees.

The work of the committee was directed by the Sound Government Board, a central body of fifteen representatives drawn from the parent plant and its subsidiaries in New Brunswick. Each year the membership of the board rotates to allow for broader participation. The central board developed its program from suggestions submitted by the nationwide managerial and sales employees of the company.

In 1952 the committee met frequently to discuss common problems—federal and state taxes, budgets and party platforms. In the post-national election period members of the Sound Government Committee turned the spotlight on issues closer to home. The ultimate decision was to develop a program to focus attention upon local government, an area where each citizen was directly concerned. Here was grass roots government—at the foundation of democracy. A comprehension of the local processes seemed the first essential to an understanding of the functioning of our democratic system.

Members of the Sound Government Board recognized that they had but a superficial knowledge of local government. Some were active in civic affairs through service as councilmen; others were members of school boards; one was a local

*Dr. Galligan, a consultant to the Johnson & Johnson Sound Government Committee of which he writes and former instructor in history at Rutgers University, is director of the Committee on Governmental Affairs of the Trenton Chamber of Commerce.

assessor. The majority, however, were not well grounded in the mechanics of local government. To solve this problem, the board retained the services of a Rutgers University political science professor, Dr. Bennett M. Rich, director of the University's Bureau of Government Research, and his assistant. Upon the consultants was placed responsibility for technical guidance and for the development of materials to be sent to the 1,850 members of the committee.

Study Forms of Government

Some indecision still confronted the Sound Government Board regarding its approach to the subject of local government. With what aspects should it be concerned primarily? Could structure and administration be handled objectively? It was finally decided to concentrate upon basic structure during the spring of 1953 and to hold over until later the development of a program concerned specifically with local functions such as community planning, parking, schools and welfare.

Before launching its program the Sound Government Board was confronted by top management questions as to whether the committee had clarified its purpose sufficiently. Might the topic—types of municipal government—be misinterpreted by the local governing bodies in the Johnson & Johnson plant cities as an effort to change the existing structure? Was it a reflection upon the incumbents of city hall? To safeguard against possible misinterpretations, William H. Baumer, special

assistant to the president of Johnson & Johnson and chairman of the Sound Government Committee, discussed the proposed topic with several local governing bodies, such as the New Brunswick City Commission. He assured them that no attempt was being made to single out any particular form of government as representing the best in local administration.

The Sound Government Board determined that complete objectivity was essential. Nothing of a reform nature could be suggested. No one type of municipal government could be recommended over another but the advantages and disadvantages of all three generally recognized forms—mayor-council, commission and council-manager—should be presented.

Some medium of expression was necessary to keep company employees informed of the Sound Government Committee's activity. The quickest and most practical means was publication of a weekly bulletin, *Two Minutes Please*, which had been mailed to the homes of committee members since January 1952. Five issues of this one-page newsletter were prepared by the Rutgers consultants and distributed each week among the 1,850 committee members. The first issue explained the importance of local government and its relation to the citizen; the second, third and fourth issues carried a brief analysis of the structure of each of the three basic forms of local government; the final issue presented a summation of the previous bulletins and reaffirmed the conviction

tion of the Sound Government Committee that sound government could be achieved through sound structure and sound leaders.

The next step was organization of local discussion groups. For each meeting three panel members were selected by the board. In some instances articulate panel members served on more than one panel. Prior to the formal presentations, the Rutgers consultants provided each panel member with a list of materials. Text books, pamphlets and articles were selected carefully to assure a proper balance of opinion. Reprints of articles on mayor-council and commission forms of government were supplied; information concerning the council-manager plan was obtained from the National Municipal League and a number of copies of Richard S. Childs' *Civic Victories* were purchased. These kits of "canned material" were distributed to each speaker assigned panel responsibilities.

In addition, 15,000 copies of a sixteen-page pamphlet, *My Town's Government*, with graphs, charts and simple explanations of the three basic forms of local government, were published by the Sound Government Board. Supplementary distribution included various colleges, business organizations, city officials and civic groups interested in promoting better local government.

Each Johnson & Johnson affiliate company proceeded to develop its own schedule of panel discussions. It was no novelty for the executive and supervisory employees making up the committee to sit around a

conference table and discuss problems or current issues. Some members had already served as discussion leaders on the taxation program. But the majority regarded themselves as novices in the field of local government and admittedly were somewhat diffident over the prospect of facing their colleagues on issues alien to their training and experience.

Panel Discussions Held

One week before the panel discussions at the parent plant, a pilot test was held to demonstrate the procedure to be followed. The chairman of the Sound Government Committee acted as moderator. He selected three board members as panel spokesmen. Each speaker was allowed from seven to ten minutes to explain one of the three principal forms of municipal government. After all forms had been presented, the remaining time was devoted to a question-and-answer period. The entire meeting lasted over an hour.

The first formal discussion in New Brunswick was held May 12. Both moderators and speakers had several days in which to familiarize themselves with the kits of canned material. The audience at each panel meeting consisted of from fourteen to twenty members in addition to the moderator and speakers. In the New Brunswick area 21 meetings were held on company time.

The presentation of the panel members placed emphasis upon the background and essential features of the forms of local government. The

(Continued on page 464)

Election Law Aids Crime?

Hearings held before New York State Crime Commission reveal how gaps in law permit leaders to abuse powers.

By RICHARD S. CHILDS*

IT IS a fact of New York City political party life that assembly district leaders hold an unconscionable amount of power. One who aspires to election to a judgeship, for example, must cultivate the friendship of some assembly district leaders and the county leader of the party. The successful candidate often will appoint his district leader as his secretary or clerk, even if the leader has no legal training, can be counted on to do little work, and is chummy with well heeled gambling racketeers. These are some of the outrageous and crusty but time-honored means by which top politicians of both parties operate in the world's largest city.

Perceptive people have long been aware of this. Myriad housewives who gasped at their television screens in 1949, when Senator Kefauver's committee examined big-time gamblers, also became suddenly aware of it. There was, however, no immediate local election at which that new stirring of public comprehension could fully express itself.

Last spring the New York State Crime Commission completed an able job of revealing how the gaps in a jerry-built election law allow the party leaders to abuse their remarkable

power with great abandon and freedom from punishment. The four-member commission, appointed by the Republican attorney general in 1951, was headed by former Justice Joseph M. Proskauer, a keen-minded 76-year-old, a Democrat and a long-time civic figure.

With a small capable staff, the commission swung out a tremendous dragnet among politicos and racketeers. In private hearings it examined 511 witnesses, checking activities, bank accounts, income and expenditures. Subsequently, at public hearings, useful portions of the testimony were repeated, often with reluctance on the part of witnesses. This swift parade of 60 witnesses provided spicy copy and fleeting drama for the press from day to day.

In its *Second Report*¹ the commission published a résumé of its findings and recommendations with regard to New York City political leaders and the election law.

Some Juicy Examples

"Alfred Toplitz was the Democratic leader of a zone of the First Assembly District for a number of years.... Years ago, Toplitz was dismissed as federal prohibition agent because of his alleged connection with the theft of liquor. Toplitz admitted to a long and close acquain-

*Mr. Childs, former president of the National Municipal League, is now chairman of its Executive Committee. Since his retirement from business in 1947, Mr. Childs has been a full-time volunteer member of the League's staff.

¹*Second Report of the New York State Crime Commission to the Governor, the Attorney General and the Legislature of the State of New York, March 9, 1953.* 27 pages.

tanceship with Frank Costello and to associations with other known criminals. He pleaded his privilege against self-incrimination when asked what business he was engaged in and what income he had from the time he was discharged as prohibition agent to the time he became chief clerk of the Board of Elections in 1948. He also pleaded his privilege concerning his income, other than his \$7,500 salary, while he was chief clerk. The scale of his living was indicated by evidence that in 1946 Toplitz paid \$153 for one pair of shoes and in the same year \$64 and \$65 for two other pairs. Similar purchases at comparable prices were made in 1947 and 1949."

The Boss Speaks

"Clarence Neal was a Democratic assembly district leader for a period of 26 years . . . Irving Daniel Neustein, an attorney and former assemblyman, and a former Democratic assembly district leader, . . . said he was told in 1945 by his election district captains that they would no longer support him and that Neal was primarily responsible; also, that they told him something to the effect that 'the boss made you and he is going to break you.' Neustein identified the phrase 'the boss' as referring to Frank Costello and as being heard frequently around Democratic headquarters.

"Neal, who continued as a leader until 1945, has had no gainful employment of any kind since 1942 and has filed no tax return since that time. He testified that his father, who ran a restaurant, gave him \$250,000 in greenbacks in 1908 or

1909, on which Neal said he has since been living. The money, according to Neal, was kept at home. . . . In November 1952, Neal testified in private examination that he still had \$25,000, whereupon commission counsel suggested that investigators accompany Neal to his home to view the money and check the serial numbers for date of issuance. Thereupon Neal said he had used up the \$25,000 and had only \$100 left."

A former assistant United States attorney "testified that William J. Connolly, a Democratic leader for a zone of the Eighth Assembly District, offered him the Democratic nomination in 1947 for municipal court justice for \$15,000 plus \$10,000 for campaign expenses. An analysis of Connolly's finances revealed that in the significant years of 1947, 1948 and 1949, he spent \$10,000 more than his ascertained receipts, the source of which he was unable to explain. Evidence was adduced that Connolly has had a close association with Frank Costello and James P. O'Connell, and that they and Frank Erickson have made financial contributions to Connolly's political club."

Financing primary contests with party funds is specifically forbidden by the New York election law. The following exchange, however, occurred during the hearings, according to the crime report:

"Commissioner Proskauer: So the expense of your primary fight was paid by the club in the final analysis?

"The witness: That's right.

"Commissioner Proskauer: Don't

you know that that violates the election law?

"The witness: No, sir, I did not. I was under the impression and I presumed in my length of time in politics that all clubs operated in that way.

"Commissioner Proskauer: Your experience in all these years is that the club, the organization —

"The witness: Republican or Democrat —

"Commissioner Proskauer: always paid for the primary fight of the leader?

"The witness: For the primary fight, and I felt —"

Another example of the enormous power of these political leaders is illustrated in the report by their evidence as to the method of nominating Supreme Court justices. Here is a colloquy with John J. Knewitz, the Bronx County Republican leader:

Nominating Judges

"Q. And the nominee for the Supreme Court that goes on the ticket that the people vote for is selected by a judicial convention? A. That's right. . . .

"Q. Now, just how is that candidate picked? Is that candidate first picked by the leader and submitted to the convention? A. Well, if it is a Manhattan vacancy, the Bronx people generally go along with it and, if it is a Bronx vacancy, the Manhattan leaders generally go along with it.

"Q. And if it is a Bronx vacancy, you have the final say as to who the candidate will be? A. I can make

a suggestion and they generally follow it.

"Q. Have they ever failed to follow it? A. No.

"Q. Do you know of any case where they failed to follow a suggestion in New York County? A. No. . . .

"Q. That's all cut and dried, and you know what's coming out of it before the convention meets? A. I presume it is.

"Q. It always has come out that way? A. Always that way."

The district leader can arrange his own sinecure by having himself appointed to an exempt position in the courts, where he can draw a salary and do little or no work. The Crime Commission showed that as of January 1, 1952, of 199 leaders from both parties, 57 or 29 per cent were employed in the courts. Out of 76 who were then or had previously been employed in the courts, 50, or 72 per cent, were non-lawyers in positions such as secretary or clerk to justices, calling for legal background. Sidney Moses, a Democratic district leader and former secretary to Justice Lupiano of the City Court, testified thus:

"Q. What were your duties as the justice's secretary? A. General clerical work. I was not an attorney.

"Q. You did no legal work and you attempted no legal work for him? A. No, sir. . . .

"Mr. Matthews: I am going to read part of your testimony given at a private hearing and if that is not correct I wish you would clarify that.

Answer: Well, when the judge goes on the bench there is not too much for me to do. Practically there is

nothing for me to do whenever he goes on the bench.

Question: Do you keep very busy on the job? Answer: Who?

Question: You. Answer: No.

"A. That is correct. When the judge was not in the office there wasn't much for me to do except receive the attorneys that would come in.

"Q. The salary in that position was how much? A. When I left it was \$5,200."

George M. Fanelli, a Republican district leader, took the stage:

"Q. Immediately after the election of Justice Parella, were you given a job with him as secretary? A. As recommended by the late Mr. Simpson then . . . [Republican] county chairman.

"Commissioner Proskauer: You are not a lawyer, are you?

"The Witness: No, sir.

"Commissioner Proskauer: Are you a judge's secretary now?

"The Witness: I am.

"Commissioner Proskauer: You look up law?

"The Witness: No, sir."

Election Law Flaws

The New York law presents great obstacles to any candidate in a contest for political leadership, particularly where he is not sponsored by the party organization. These obstacles are a key to the low caliber of many present political leaders in the city.

The Crime Commission pointed out that the sense of futility experienced by many who try to partici-

pate actively in party affairs leads to apathy among average citizens. "The enrolled voters have found it extremely difficult, under existing procedures, to express intelligently or effectively their choice of political leaders."

Several factors were listed as contributing to this lack of popular concern over party leadership: (1) Indirect election of district leaders — that is, after a very complicated nominating process, voters vote for county committeemen who, in turn, elect the leaders; (2) in the mid-August primary in a presidential year, 1952, the primary vote was as low as 6.9 per cent of enrolled voters in some areas; (3) other unnecessary difficulties confronting candidates for district leadership — for example, the Board of Elections has often been accused of being, and probably is, prejudiced in favor of organization candidates; and (4) the power of political committees to thwart the electorate's choice of district leaders — the general county committee must approve of a district leader before he may be seated, and the executive committee of a party can thwart the voters' choice of political leaders by manipulating the boundaries of assembly districts.

The Recommendations

The Crime Commission made two general recommendations in its *Second Report*:

"(a) Political leaders should have the dignity and be given some of the attributes of public officers. It is primarily necessary that there be a general recognition of the responsible nature of positions of political lead-

ership and of the duties and obligations inherent in such positions. To this end, leaders and officers of political committees on the assembly district, city, county and state levels should be given a status similar to that of public officers, and along with that status some of the duties and responsibilities of such officers. Legislation adopted for this purpose should require, among other things, that each 'party officer' take an oath of office and be subject to forfeiture of his 'party office' if, when duly called upon to testify concerning the performance of his official duties, he fails to waive immunity. Legislation such as is here envisioned should so clarify and give recognition to the fundamental importance of party leadership as to attract more people of ability and integrity to active and sustained party service.

Program of Action

"(b) An appropriate body should be created by the legislature to review present provisions of and procedures under the election law." Legislation, said the commission, should be passed that would eliminate unnecessary obstacles confronting candidates for district leadership and persons seeking nomination for public office or other party positions. "Such legislation should also eliminate all unnecessary technicalities and complexities which, though serving no useful function, flood the Board of Elections with contests and the courts with litigation, and which

act as a barrier to the democratic process."

The "appropriate body" has since been authorized by the legislature and the Citizens Union of New York City is ready with a program prepared several years ago by a practical and informed committee. The program is parallel to that of the National Municipal League's *Model Direct Primary Election System*. It would clear away the dead mass of the huge county committee which now shields party leaders from insurgency, provide direct elections of party leaders on short ballots and require the leaders to designate their slates of candidates for party and public office instead of hiding behind docile conventions, with time left for their designations to be contested if found unsatisfactory.

Another commission on judiciary, headed by the eminent Harrison Tweed, is considering the condition in which 136 obscure elective judges in New York City are in actual practice hand-picked by county and district leaders. The Citizens Union is pressing for an amendment to the election law whereby the nominations for judgeships will be submitted by the executive subject to subsequent counter-nomination by petition, followed by election on a non-partisan section of the voting machines.

The case against present scandalous procedures has been richly documented by the Crime Commission out of the mouths of key participants!

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Apportionment Passes Illinois Legislature

Amendment to Be Submitted to Voters in 1954 Election

A CONSTITUTIONAL amendment for reapportionment of legislative districts has been submitted by the Illinois legislature for action of the people at the November 1954 general election. If approved it will add seven members to the Senate and 24 to the House, most of them to come from Chicago and the rest of Cook County. The last legislative reapportionment in Illinois was in 1901.

The new plan is described by the Illinois State Chamber of Commerce as follows:

"The proposed reapportionment plan provides for establishing two separate sets of districts — one for state senators and the other for representatives. There would be 58 permanent senatorial districts based on area and 59 representative districts based on population. Each senatorial district would elect one senator and each representative district, three representatives.¹ Senatorial districts would be established permanently but representative districts would be subject to revision every ten years. Of the 58 permanent senatorial districts, 34 would be downstate and 24 in Cook County, with eighteen of the Cook County districts in Chicago. This would give downstate a majority of ten votes in the Senate. Of the 59 representative districts, 29 would go

downstate, 23 to Chicago and the remaining seven to Cook County outside of Chicago, giving Cook County a three-vote majority in the House.

"If approved by the voters in 1954, the 1955 General Assembly would determine the new district boundaries. Should it fail to do so, a special committee would be appointed by the governor, consisting of five members of each party, to redraw district boundaries. If the commission failed to reapportion, all 177 representatives would be elected from the state-at-large."

Two other amendments will also be submitted at the 1954 election. One would extend the state treasurer's term from two years to four. The other would permit the state to sell or lease state-owned canals or waterways, including the abandoned 96-mile Illinois-Michigan canal.

Revision of the judicial article of the constitution, on which the Illinois and Chicago Bar Associations have been at work for years, failed in the House after obtaining approval of the Senate.

Texas Legislature Submits 11 Constitutional Amendments

The 1953 Texas legislature, in addition to passing various important statutes, submitted eleven proposed constitutional amendments to the electorate. They will not be voted upon until the November 1954 general election. The more important ones include the following topics:

Empowering the legislature to set the salaries of elective state officials whose salaries are now fixed by the constitution, including the governor, secretary of state, attorney general, treasurer, comptroller and land com-

¹Presumably these would be elected by the system of cumulative voting provided elsewhere in the constitution. See the REVIEW, September 1953, page 410.

missioner; this amendment would also raise legislators' pay from \$10 per day to \$25, for the first 120 days of a session, with nothing thereafter, whereas \$5 per day is now paid for additional days;

Establishing four-year overlapping terms for elective county, district and precinct officers;

Creating a state building commission, for construction of state court and office buildings, to be financed from the present Confederate pension fund;

Permitting counties with populations in excess of 190,000 to create county-wide hospital districts, to be supported by a tax not to exceed 75 cents per \$100 valuation;

Authorizing federal old-age and survivors insurance coverage for proprietary employees of municipalities;

Prohibiting the use of state credit by any toll road authority.

One of the most significant legislative actions was the abolition of the present State Board of Control¹ and the creation of a new board, the members of which will set policies but will not have administrative functions. Administration of its activities will be under an executive director employed by the board.

Federal social security coverage was authorized for non-proprietary municipal employees, but the attorney general ruled that such coverage for proprietary employees would be unconstitutional at present.

A state turnpike authority was cre-

¹The chief duties of the Board of Control (comprised of three members appointed by the governor with Senate approval) were formerly control of state property and eleemosynary institutions and preparation of the state's biennial appropriation budget for submission to the governor. In 1951, however, many of its duties were transferred to other boards and the preparation of the budget was assigned to the governor's office.

ated, with power to construct and operate toll roads in cooperation with the highway department. It consists of the three highway commissioners and six other members appointed by the governor. Its activities are to be non-profit, tax-free and financed by revenue bonds. The first project is to be a road between Dallas and Fort Worth.

A comprehensive court redistricting proposal failed to pass. Piecemeal additions of new courts in certain counties were vetoed by Governor Shivers and it is hoped that complete redistricting will eventually succeed.

Numerous interim studies were prescribed by the legislature. Subjects include the judiciary article of the constitution, job reclassification, water resources and higher education.

California Amendment on Terms of Officials

The California legislature has placed a proposed constitutional amendment on the next state election ballot to increase the terms of state senators from four to six years and those of assemblymen from two to four years. It would also limit governors to two successive terms of four years, except for the incumbent at the time of the revision.

Alabama May Modify Poll Tax Requirements

If a proposed constitutional amendment in Alabama is approved by the voters, the present constitutional requirement that poll taxes for all years from ages 21 up to age 45 must be paid by a prospective voter will be reduced to a limit of only two years or three dollars.

New York, New Jersey Join in Port Crime Control

An interstate agency to combat crime on the docks of the Port of

New York has been organized and will assume authority in December. It is designated the New York-New Jersey Waterfront Commission and is the result of a compact arranged between the two states. It was approved by the New York legislature at a special session in June and by the New Jersey legislature shortly before its adjournment that month. The commission, as part of its program, will license dock workers and maintain public hiring centers for longshoremen. The "shape-up" system for hiring dock workers and the "public loader" system, both of which were found to be linked with gangsters and racketeers in the New York waterfront crime investigation earlier in the year, will be abolished. Interim co-operation between the two states has been provided for, pending approval of the compact by Congress.

Governor Dewey of New York has appointed Lieutenant General George P. Hays to the commission, and Governor Driscoll of New Jersey has appointed Major General Edward C. Rose. The cost of the commission's activities is to be met by assessments on industries using the port.

Survey Shows Short Ballot Advantage

Evidence that the long ballot, cluttered with a horde of minor elective offices, tends to diminish a voter's awareness of major officials is given by a survey of voters in two states—Virginia and Ohio.

The survey finds a relatively greater lack of awareness among voters in Ohio, where the long ballot prevails. The 1952 ballot, for example, was a large sheet filled with from 30 to 50 contested offices. Only 31 per cent of Ohio voters could name their present district congressman when questioned in the survey.

In Virginia, on the other hand, where ballots are very short (five officers or less), 57 per cent of the voters questioned could identify their present district representative.

Interviewing for the survey, which was conducted for the National Municipal League by the American Institute of Public Opinion, was done simultaneously in both states. A cross-section of Ohio and Virginia voters was asked:

"What is the name of the U. S. representative from this congressional district?"

Here are the results, based on those who voted in 1952:

	Per Cent Correct	
	Ohio	Virginia
Statewide	31	57
Men	32	49
Women	30	64
Education		
College	51	60
High School	34	58
Grade School	17	51
21 to 29 years	28	64
30 to 49 years	33	54
50 years and over	30	56

In Ohio, state and county officers and judges were elected at the national election in 1952. In the typical district the U. S. representative was lost in a twenty-inch list.

In Virginia, state and county elections are held in non-presidential years. Judges are all appointive and among minor state officers only one is elective. There are no counties overlapping the 27 cities, of which 26 have the short ballot council-manager plan.

Thus the typical Virginia district in 1950 voted for the single office of U. S. representative and in 1952 voted for presidential electors, a U. S. senator and district representative—three decisions for each voter to make as compared with the Ohioan's 30 to 50.

Lower Voting Age Proposed in Indiana

The Indiana legislature has proposed a constitutional amendment that would lower the minimum voting age to nineteen. It has also authorized absentee voting by persons at home or hospitalized by illness or injury on election day.

State-Local Relationships Studied in Connecticut

A seven-member commission to investigate relations between the state and its political subdivisions has been appointed by Governor John Lodge, as previously authorized by the legislature. The commission is to study and report on the distribution of governmental services rendered by the state and local governments and the need for additional state assistance to towns and cities. The investigation is expected to produce recommendations as to better methods of providing governmental services.

Georgia Requires High School Courses in Government

At its 1953 session the General Assembly of Georgia passed a law requiring all high schools supported by state funds to offer a course in federal and state government, supplemented by a study of county and municipal government. The course must be taught for the entire school year, and no student who has not successfully completed it shall be eligible for a diploma.

Since 1923 all students receiving a degree from any branch of the University System of Georgia have been required either to take a course in American government or to pass an examination on the constitutions of the United States and Georgia. An amendment to the law involved, passed in 1953 (Georgia Laws, 1953, page

532) adds the study of American and Georgia history to the prescribed requirements for a degree from a state-supported college.

ALBERT B. SAYE

University of Georgia

Council-Manager Plan Developments

The city council of **Costa Mesa, California**, (1950 population 11,844) adopted on August 10 an ordinance establishing a council-manager plan. A manager has since been appointed. He is the administrative head of the city government, with authority to appoint, supervise and remove all officers and employees except the city clerk, attorney and treasurer.

The city council of **Rochelle, Illinois**, (5,449) has passed an ordinance creating the office of city manager.

South Miami, Florida, (4,809) voted 308 to 200 on July 31 to adopt a council-manager charter, to go into effect in not more than 90 days after the referendum election.

Madeira Beach, Florida, a new suburb of St. Petersburg, voted on July 14 for the council-manager plan. Its city commission has been screening applications for the management.

Dover, New Hampshire, defeated a council-manager proposal by a vote of 2,614 to 2,080 on September 21.

A petition for a vote in November on the question of adopting council-manager Plan D has been filed in **Brockton, Massachusetts**. The city clerk has certified to the validity of 3,839 signatures, as against a minimum requirement of some 3,700.

In **Peekskill, New York**, the Republican city committee and its candidates for mayor and council have announced their support of a council-manager form of government as a main plank in their platform this fall. The local Kiwanis Club has also endorsed the

manager plan and has petitioned the council, which has a Democratic majority, for adoption of the plan.

Montgomery Township, New Jersey, voted 526 to 372 on August 18 against adoption of the council-manager plan, thus retaining the present mayor and township committee, despite a pre-election petition of 90 per cent of the adult population protesting a rezoning plan, proposed by the committee, in favor of a granule manufacturing industry. The vote on August 18 represented about 80 per cent of the electorate.

A majority of the **Englewood, New Jersey**, charter commission advocates the employment of a general administrator.

Petitions are being circulated in **Henderson, Kentucky**, asking that a referendum on adoption of the council-manager plan be held at the November election.

The mayor and council of **Cairo, Georgia**, have been considering the employment of a city manager. There had formerly been an officer with that title, but the office became vacant several months ago.

Jesup, Georgia, voted 243 to 159 on September 15 against a proposed city manager ordinance.

On September 8 voters of **Hialeah, Florida**, defeated a proposed new charter providing for the council-manager plan by a narrow margin — 2,084 to 1,943.

Petitions calling for a special election on the question of adopting the manager plan have been filed in **Spencer, Iowa**. They contain 545 signatures, or more than the necessary 25 per cent of the vote at the last city election.

The **Ferguson, Missouri**, Charter Commission has decided to follow the council-manager plan in drafting a new charter.

Petitions have been circulated in **Hannibal, Missouri**, calling for an elec-

tion on the question of whether the council-manager plan shall be retained.

Cheyenne, Wyoming, defeated a proposed council-manager plan on August 25 by a vote of 5,471 to 2,227. The plan was vigorously fought by the incumbent mayor. A second question on the ballot, regarding the method of electing councilmen if the manager plan carried, resulted in a vote of 4,197 to 1,789 for election by wards rather than at large.

A draft of a council-manager charter has been prepared by a subcommittee of a council-manager charter committee established by Mayor Warren of **Tulsa, Oklahoma**, and has been submitted to the full committee.

Two petitions have been circulated in **Missoula, Montana**, for changes from the present commission form of government. One calls for the council-manager plan, the other for an aldermanic form.

The city council of **Brawley, California**, unanimously adopted a resolution on July 6 establishing the position of city administrator, who has the power to appoint and discharge all department heads except clerk, attorney, treasurer and auditor — all elective officials.

Members of the city council of **Burlingame, California**, have indicated approval of a 1954 referendum on the question of employment of a city administrator, with limited appointing powers.

Georgia Supreme Court Voids Home Rule Act

In a decision of September 15, 1953, (*Phillips et al. v. City of Atlanta*) the State Supreme Court held void Georgia's municipal home rule act of 1951.¹ The specific ruling was on the pro-

¹The Fulton Superior Court had likewise held the act unconstitutional on May 15. See the REVIEW, July 1953, page 342.

vision of the act authorizing a municipality to extend its boundaries, but the language used by the chief justice, speaking for an undivided court, leaves no doubt that the justices consider the act void in its entirety.

According to the decision of the court, the General Assembly has no authority to delegate legislative power to municipalities except as provided by the home rule article added to the constitution in 1945, which calls upon the General Assembly to provide uniform and optional systems of county and municipal government. The 1951 act did not provide these, but enabled any city to acquire broad powers of self-government, including the power to alter its charter, if a majority of its electors voting in an election on the question favored coming under the provisions of the act.

There is strong support for home rule in Georgia. The authors of the home rule act of 1951 were overambitious in granting to municipalities a greater range of self-government than the judiciary thinks consistent with the state constitution. A new home rule act will undoubtedly be introduced in the next session of the General Assembly.

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Charter Report Assails Newark Commission Plan

In its final report, released early in September, the Newark, New Jersey, Charter Commission¹ severely criticized the city's present commission form of government, in effect since 1917, and proposed one of the mayor-council plans provided in the New Jersey optional municipal law instead. The proposed plan will be submitted to popular vote at the November 3 election; if approved the mayor and council will be elected in May 1954.

¹See the REVIEW, June, page 288, and July, page 345.

The existing form, with five commissioners, each heading a department, was denounced as "wasteful, extravagant, uncoordinated and not responsive to the basic needs of the city." The new plan would include a council of nine members, five to be elected from wards and four, as well as the mayor, at large. The mayor would be expected to exercise strong political leadership. Conduct of financial and personnel activities would be under a business administrator responsible to him. The charter commission recommends that the administrator be given responsibility for general supervision over all operating departments. This, according to the terms of the proposed charter, may be done by ordinance. The council would exercise legislative powers.

Employee Councils Assist in Personnel Policies

A recent development in employee participation in the formulation of governmental personnel policies and practices is an employee council established in Shorewood, Wisconsin, which discusses working conditions and over-all personnel policies with the village manager. Each city department elects a representative and an alternate for each eleven or twelve employees, making a total of eleven members on the council. Subjects taken up in the monthly meetings of the employee council have included salaries, retirement benefits, hospital and surgical insurance coverage, and planning picnics and parties for city employees and their families.

There are now reported to be many instances of employee participation in the federal service. Programs for this purpose exist in the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Library of Congress, the Department of Agriculture, the Navy Department, the Federal Communications Commission and

several other agencies. The Hoover Commission Personnel Report recommended that heads of federal departments and agencies provide for employee participation in the formulation and improvement of federal personnel policies and practices by means of employee councils.

Veterans Preference Modified by Congress

As reported by the National Civil Service League, "The first constructive revision of veterans preference was a major civil service accomplishment of the first session of the 83rd Congress: (1) A passing grade will be required of candidates before preference points can be added to civil service scores; (2) Only veterans with 10 per cent disability will be 'floated' to top of civil service lists.

"These changes, long advocated by the League, were passed shortly before Congress adjourned. On the negative side the 'floating' privilege of disabled veterans was extended to jobs paying up to \$5,060 instead of the previous \$3,000 limit. In addition, the Civil Service Commission now has the power to require hiring of veterans passed over in selection from eligible lists."

The 10 per cent disability requirement should prevent veterans with very minor disabilities from impeding the use of much better qualified personnel in the public service.

STUDY CITY FORMS

(Continued from page 452)

strong and weak points were brought out in each instance. The discussions were straightforward and remarkably free of individual prejudice. This wholesome approach contributed immeasurably to the success of the program.

The performance of the panels on local government ended on a

note of complete satisfaction. To many members, the program served as a course in civics. While no planned method was used to evaluate member reaction to the program, word of the committee's work became the topic of conversation in the plant cafeterias, in the office and even in the homes of employees. Prior to the discussions, few were aware of the various forms of municipal government. Some confessed that they had no knowledge whatever of their community's governmental structure. Others knew that their particular city was administered by a mayor but they had no conception of his powers or duties. All seemed surprised at the scope of the subject.

The work of the Sound Government Committee helped to develop new techniques of using the place of employment as a discussion ground for governmental matters. In addition, the program improved employee relations and developed a common bond of interest among the technical and managerial staff of the Johnson & Johnson family.

The entire program has been a remarkable demonstration of the impact which a forward-looking industry can make upon the cause of good government. By arousing interest in the forms of local government through the weekly *Two Minutes Please*, the brochure, *My Town's Government*, and the panels, the members of the committee found themselves developing a healthy curiosity concerning the governments of their own communities. The net result was to promote the cause of sound government—yours and mine.

County and Township *Edited by Edward W. Weidner*

Sonoma County Secures an Executive Plan

Ordinance of Supervisors Provides for Administrator

THE BOARD of supervisors of Sonoma County, California, (1950 population 103,405) on May 1 established the position of county administrator. The plan will become effective November 1.

One of the crucial matters to consider in establishing managerial posts of this nature is the proper relations between the executive and department heads and employees on the one hand and between the executive and the governing body on the other. The Sonoma ordinance has a lot to say about these relationships as well as omitting a lot of things that could be said. For example, no mention is made of the term or tenure rights of the administrator.

The ordinance provides that the position shall be filled by appointment by the board, at a salary designated by it. No member of the board may be appointed as county administrator during his term of office or for one year thereafter.

Fairly broad powers are given the executive. Section 2 of the ordinance provides the bulk of them as follows:

"The county administrator shall supervise for the board of supervisors the administration of all departments, districts, institutions, services, commissions and personnel of the county over which said board has responsibility and control. In addition, the county administrator shall act as the administrative officer for said board to enforce all rules, regulations and ordinances which it has the power to apply to departments, districts, institutions, commissions, services and personnel, elective or appointive.

"The county administrator shall have

the following powers, duties and responsibilities:

"(a) To recommend an annual county budget and to exercise continuous budgetary control, . . .

"(b) To require reports of departmental activities when necessary to the accomplishment of his duties,

"(c) To recommend desirable rearrangements of departments and functions, and to recommend improved forms and procedures,

"(d) To represent the county of Sonoma in its intergovernmental relationships when so authorized by the board of supervisors,

"(e) To conduct continuous research into administrative practices,

"(f) To recommend a long-term plan of capital improvements, with accompanying financial plans for their accomplishments,

"(g) To direct such central administrative services as may be found to be desirable, including the maintenance of buildings and grounds, the maintenance and control of transportation, the maintenance of central office services, including personnel and equipment. . . .

"(h) He shall be purchasing agent for the county and as such shall maintain and direct a centralized purchasing service for all county offices, institutions and departments,

"(i) To perform such other duties as he may be directed or authorized to perform by the board of supervisors, provided, however, that no provision of this ordinance shall be deemed to grant any power to, or impose any duty upon, said county administrator which is in conflict with any power or duty vested by law in any other department, district, institution, board, commission or personnel of the county."

No general appointment power is

vested in the chief executive by ordinance, although he does have power to recommend to the board of supervisors the creation or abolition of positions in any of the departments or agencies. Sonoma County, with its seat at Santa Rosa, is one of the several California counties with its own civil service commission.

Board Has Final Powers

Most of the powers of the administrator are qualified by being powers of recommendation to the board. Thus the budget he submits to the board is presented only after he has held departmental hearings and examinations, but it is specifically provided that the board, too, will hold departmental budget hearings after it receives the administrator's budget. Likewise, no transfers of funds shall be allowed until the administrator's recommendation is passed upon by the board; a similar provision is to be found concerning transfer of personnel, even temporarily.

Finally, Section 5 summarizes the relationships that exist between administrator, board and departments by providing that, "Any official, board, commission or person who is, or which is, the administrative head of any department, who is dissatisfied with any decision of the county administrator that affects such office, department, board, commission, district or person may appeal to the board of supervisors after submitting a written statement to the county administrator of his intention to do so and the general reasons therefor. The decision of the board shall be final."

Short of an on-the-spot case study, it is risky to generalize about forms of government, even to the extent of classifying them. The Sonoma County ordinance was adopted by a three-two vote, with one member absent. On the surface, at least, it would appear that the board has taken a moderate step toward executive responsibility. As it is framed, the

ordinance gives great flexibility to the situation so that, in actual practice, the administrator could vary all the way from figurehead to a strong manager. Perhaps this flexibility makes managerial responsibility more palatable to tradition-bound county boards. If so, it may be a popular way to introduce full-fledged county executives.

Riverside County Chambers Approve Manager Plan

A plan to draft a new charter providing for the county manager plan has been endorsed by the Arlington, La Sierra and Jurupa Chambers of Commerce for Riverside County, California. The three chambers approved a report prepared by a committee of the Associated Chambers of Commerce which specified the manager plan, election of supervisors at large and appointment, rather than election, of many county officials.

Under the California home rule law, a board of freeholders would be elected by the voters in the county to draft a charter, which would then be submitted to the voters for approval or rejection.

Riverside County is being increasingly affected by the tremendous population growth of the Los Angeles metropolitan area. In addition, it has great variations in topography, economy and climate.

Mississippi Group Recommends Changes in County Setup

The Mississippi Economic Council, a private group devoted to civic leadership, has issued *Is This Your County?*, a study of Mississippi county government with recommendations. Perhaps the most unusual feature of the report is the manner in which the research was conducted. The research committee made field studies of eighteen representative counties in the state with the objective of finding

out what was wrong with county government and what changes should be recommended. Contained in the report is a lot of good material from the field investigation, but recommendations seem somewhat weak in view of the otherwise excellent research study made.

Suggestions for change fall short of any major reorganization. For example, it is suggested that the practice in some counties of holding executive sessions of the board is not wise and needs to be limited to instances conforming to statutory requirements. Suggestions for constitutional changes include abolishing the offices of justice of the peace and constables and in their place establishing a county court system. Certain separation and combination of offices are recommended, so that the sheriff will become purely a law enforcement officer and the fiscal task of tax assessor and collector will be combined. Similarly, the offices of court and chancery clerk should be combined, and the practice of paying county officials on a fee basis abolished.

Suggestions for statutory change cover a wide area, the more important of which include abolition of the present office of county auditor-clerk, in its place creating an office of county controller. The county controller should be the fiscal agent of the county, the custodian of buildings, supplies and equipment, purchasing agent and clerk to the board of supervisors.

The report ends by making some administrative reorganization suggestions. Boards of supervisors are encouraged to divest themselves of all direct administrative work with the object of becoming over-all legislative and policy-making bodies.

While most of the recommendations are purely of local interest to Mississippi, the suggestion for a county controller is of more widespread interest. It is conceivable that, if the recommendations of the council were adopted by the legislature and carried out vigorously and

completely, counties in Mississippi would have the beginning of a county executive system.

The Mississippi Economic Council has also put out a flier, *Time to Change*, which is a summary of the lengthy report. The suggestion for a county controller, however, is apparently not considered the central part of the report. It is, for example, given no more prominence than the requirement that county printing supplies be purchased from Mississippi firms only.

Despite the failure of the council to highlight the report so as to separate the more important recommendations from those less important, the study is a good one and should attract the interest of research and civic groups interested in county government.

Fulton County, Georgia, Makes Report to Its Citizens

Those who have watched with interest the development of better government in Fulton County, Georgia, will be pleased at its 1952 annual report, *Fulton County, Georgia: Report to Its Citizens on 1952 Activities*. Over 50 pages, the report contains excellent maps, pictures and illustrations of all types. It attempts to give the citizen a better understanding of the operation of county government and the services it performs. The county manager and county commissioners are to be congratulated on this unusual and excellent document. It may well serve as a model for other counties to follow in the future.

New York Counties Get Technical Assistance

A headquarters for the New York State Association of Clerks of Boards of Supervisors is now in operation at Cornell University, with the chief function of serving as a clearing house of information on technical problems in county

government. The office will answer questions, issue bulletins and publish the results of research.

Inspiration for this research center came out of a meeting of the association held at Cornell in June. The university is helping with finances and providing quarters in the School of Business and Public Administration.

Faculty consultation is being given by Professor Edward A. Lutz of the College of Agriculture and Professor Albert M. Hillhouse of the School of Business and Public Administration.

Cornell University thus becomes a leader in giving technical assistance to county officials. While many state universities may assist cities, relatively few carry out an extensive program with the counties. Among the prominent exceptions are Virginia and Wisconsin. It is probable that the Cornell development is symbolic of a trend in a number of universities in paying more attention to county as well as municipal government in their technical assistance programs.

Tacoma and Pierce County to Coordinate Planning

The city of Tacoma, Washington, Pierce County and the Bureau of Governmental Research and Services of the University of Washington jointly have been tackling the problem of how to approach metropolitan planning in the area. The county has decided to revitalize its planning commission as a necessary first step toward coordinated planning with the city. The University of Washington Bureau has offered its help in developing a joint planning agency and an initial plan.

San Diego County Gets Performance Budget

San Diego County, California, which has been one of the two dozen or so counties in the United States with relatively strong appointed executives, has achieved the distinction of being the first county to adopt a performance budget for its public works department.

Bar Association Considers Model Medico-legal Act

A draft of a model post-mortem examinations office act, prepared by Dr. Richard A. Leflar, dean of the University of Arkansas Law School, and a committee of the American Bar Association, was advanced at the association's August meeting in Boston. It is probable that the committee will have the draft in final form for approval by the Bar Association's 1954 conference, with the likelihood that adoption thereafter by the Commissioners on Uniform State Laws can be accomplished before the end of 1954.

A draft of the proposal in its present form may be secured from the National Municipal League. It sets up a statewide commission on post-mortem examinations, creates a chief state medical examiner with regional medical examiners under him, requires pathological experience, defines the cases in which autopsy may be required and establishes a central laboratory service. The new system would take over all functions of elective county coroners, who would be abolished by this act or by constitutional amendment.

R.S.C.

Proportional Representation*Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
and Wm. Redin Woodward**(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)***Michigan Students Like
P. R. for Elections*****Use of the Hare System
Prevents Factional Splits***

SINCE its beginnings in the spring of 1946, the Student Legislature of the University of Michigan has conducted its elections according to the Hare system of proportional representation. That year the student body chose for its student government a representative body, elected at large, in preference to a small supercouncil which would have represented only the major campus organizations. The vote for adoption was more than two to one.

Just as the Hare system has had to defend itself constantly on the municipal level, so has it been necessary to defend it from time to time on the campus. But seven years of experience with the Hare system have pretty well made it a campus tradition, so far as student elections are concerned, and it has never been in any great danger of being thrown out. Still, each election sees two or three candidates who promise that, if elected, they will see that a different method of election is instituted.

The Hare system has been attacked as being too complex — that the voter is not willing to try to figure out a preferential ballot. Yet recent elections have seen higher and higher voter turnouts, with a high of 47 per cent recorded in November 1952. This is better than the turnout of voters at any other college of comparable size, and larger than that at some smaller schools. If anything, the Hare system

is a point of interest to the voter, and he has come to accept it as most people accept their single "X" systems.

Not only does the University of Michigan have a respectable voter turnout but also our figures indicate that the voters are now better informed as to candidates and as to the system of voting than at any time in the past. In the fall of 1952, for example, of 7,400 ballots cast, only 195 were invalidated for failure to mark the ballot properly. In addition, the ratio of the number of ballots exhausted during the count to the number of original valid ballots is steadily declining. Elections four or five years ago would see as many as 650 to 700 ballots exhausted as compared to the present figure of about 450. The point is further emphasized by the fact that more ballots are being cast now than in the past. The voter is expressing many more choices on his ballot than before. Most every election sees a ballot going to a 22nd or 23rd preference.

Changing Quota

At Michigan we use an adaptation of the Hare system which is not, to our knowledge, used anywhere else in the country. After each transfer of ballots, the number of ballots exhausted by that transfer is subtracted from the number of valid ballots, and a new quota is calculated based on the number of valid ballots still in circulation.¹ As the count progresses, the quota drops slowly but steadily. As the quota drops, the Judiciary Council pulls ballots at random from the

¹For information on the changing quota see Hoag and Hallett, *Proportional Representation*, 1926, pages 380-383.

piles of those candidates already elected to bring their totals down to the new quota. The major virtue of this procedure is that each legislator is elected with the same number of votes. This particular step has been used throughout the seven years of Student Legislature elections.

This feature is a necessity, inasmuch as there are generally 20 to 25 seats to be filled at any given election, and anywhere from 35 to 50 candidates competing. Were we to use as a fixed quota the original figure as calculated (generally about 300) we would find only about five to eight candidates reaching that figure before the election would be declared at an end. As a result, we would have about fifteen seats filled by persons elected with perhaps as few as 140 votes as compared to a quota of 300.

Although such a result could certainly be justified in terms of the Hare system, we feel that the spread would be too wide and could not easily be justified before the electorate. Although the pulling of ballots from the piles of those already elected may seem like an unnecessarily tedious job, we feel it is worthwhile in that it leads to a more equitable result. It is interesting to note that although there have been many attacks by some students on our use of the Hare system, the attacks have never been aimed at this feature of the process, although it is certainly the most novel.

It has been said that although the Hare system is a sound democratic method of election, it is not applicable to elections in which there are large numbers of seats and large numbers of candidates. We believe the feature of the changing quota makes the system applicable to an election of any magnitude.

It has been pointed out on many occasions how the use of the Hare

system prevents the community from being split into bitter factions. In the case of the University community this means that in campus politics there is no split on an artificial geographical basis, nor is there a split between independent students and those affiliated with fraternities. Although affiliates hold a majority of seats in the Student Legislature, there has never been an issue in which the vote was split on that basis. Even when the famed Michigan Plan, which would have removed from campus those fraternities having discriminatory clauses in their constitutions after 1956, was approved by the Student Legislature, there were independents and affiliates voting on each side.

No Mud-slinging

This feeling of a basic unity can be seen in election campaigns. A preferential system of voting raises campaigning above the mud-slinging level simply because John Doe knows that if he expects to win he must persuade the people voting No. 1 for Joe Doaks that they should vote for him No. 2. There is thus little incentive to throw mud at Joe Doaks. The friendships and acquaintanceships developed in campaigns lead to a more harmonious functioning of the Student Legislature as a governing body. We are proud to report that it has been more than three years since there has been any attempt at voting fraud.

Such has been our experience with the Hare system. Seven years of its use has made the campus conscious of student government to a greater degree than at most large schools. The voter turnout has increased appreciably and is well above that of most schools. Our voters are continuing to become better informed as to the merits not only of the candidates but also of the election system. The unique feature of the changing quota

adjusted to the changing number of transferable ballots has been successful in making the results of elections more equitable.

Certainly the continuous successful use of the Hare system has been the most significant contribution to student government at the University of Michigan.

BERTON G. BRAUN

Student Legislature
University of Michigan

Proportional System Prevails under New Italian Law

The failure of any party or alliance of parties to obtain more than half the votes in the Italian national elections June 7 and 8 resulted in the votes being counted by the same proportional representation system which was used in the 1948 elections. A recent change in the election laws provided that a party or an alliance of parties obtaining 50.01 per cent of the votes would be entitled to a minimum of 380 seats, or 65 per cent of the 590 seats of the Chamber of Deputies.¹ This was expected to strengthen the hand of the outgoing government coalition.

Although the governing coalition, centered on Premier Alcide de Gasperi's Christian Democratic party,

¹See the REVIEW, March 1953, page 146.

polled only 49.79 per cent of the votes, the normal slight advantage of large parties in P.R. elections resulting from the division of the country into election districts, and the failure of very small parties to win seats, was sufficient to give this group 303 seats, or 51.4 per cent, in the Chamber of Deputies. In the concurrent Senate election, on a franchise with a higher age limit, this coalition obtained slightly over 50 per cent of the popular vote and a similar narrow majority of seats.

Premier de Gasperi's coalition of parties lost favor, as compared with 1948, to two distinct rival sentiments. The Communists and their left-wing socialist allies polled 35.7 per cent of the votes as against 31 per cent in 1948. The conservative opposition, though smaller in size, increased more markedly and polled 13.68 per cent of the votes compared with 4.8 per cent in 1948. This conservative opposition consists of a monarchist party and another regarded as neo-fascist.

The governing coalition went down from 61.9 per cent of the votes in 1948 to the present 49.79 per cent, all of its member parties losing strength except for two small local groups which were not in the 1948 contest. The popular vote and the distribution of seats in the Chamber of Deputies is given in the accompanying table.

ITALIAN NATIONAL ELECTIONS, JUNE 7 AND 8, 1953
CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES

Party	Votes	Per Cent Votes	Seats	Per Cent Seats
Christian Democratic	10,859,554	40.09	262	44.4
Right-wing Socialist	1,223,870	4.52	19	3.2
Liberal	815,681	3.01	14	2.4
Republican	437,899	1.62	5	0.8
South Tyrol People's	122,810	0.45	3	0.5
Sardinian Action	27,224	.10	—	—
Total of "Center Bloc"	(13,487,038)	(49.79)	(303)	(51.4)
Communist	6,122,638	22.60	143	24.2
Left-wing Socialist	3,440,222	12.70	75	12.7
Monarchist	1,856,661	6.85	40	6.8
Neo-Fascist	1,580,395	5.83	29	4.9
Others	602,230	2.23	—	—

City Income, Expenses Break All Records

Bureau of Census Reports 7 to 8 Per Cent Increases

THE nation's 481 cities of over 25,000 population received and expended more money during their 1952 fiscal years than ever before in their history, according to the Government's Division of the Bureau of the Census. Revenue receipts and borrowings last year amounted to \$7,719,000,000 and expenditures for all purposes, including capital outlays, amounted to \$7,252,000,000. Revenues and borrowings were 8.5 per cent above 1951 and expenditures were up 7.2 per cent from the prior year, when the corresponding dollar figures had been \$7,116,000,000 and \$6,767,000,000.¹

The total revenue for the year included \$1,138,000,000 of borrowing, \$805,000,000 for general purposes and \$333,000,000 for utility purposes. The remaining \$6,582,000,000 represented current revenues for the year and consisted of \$5,256,000,000 general governmental revenues, \$1,118,000,000 utility revenues, and \$209,000,000 trust fund revenues. The gross expenditures included \$534,000,000 for debt redemption (of which \$415,000,000 was for general debt and \$119,000,000 was for utility debt), \$5,158,000,000 expended for general government purposes, including capital outlays, \$1,329,000,000 expended for utility purposes, (also including capital outlays), and \$231,000,000 of trust fund expenditures. In total, capital outlays represented

\$1,493,000,000 of all expenditures, or \$355,000,000 more than the borrowing for the year.

The data reveal continuation of the trend evident for some years towards a lessening dependence on the general property tax in financing general government. In 1952, property taxes accounted for \$2,576,000,000 of total revenues, and represented only 49.0 per cent of all general government revenues compared with 54.8 per cent five years earlier, in 1948. In 1951, property taxes had represented 50.2 per cent of all government revenues of cities over 25,000 population. Fiscal aid, mainly from the states, represented 19.7 per cent of general government revenues in 1952, down slightly from the 20.2 per cent level of 1951. The other 31.3 per cent of general revenues in 1952 came from a variety of local taxes, fees and charges.

City debt, which has been increasing rapidly in the postwar period, aggregated \$10,592,339,000 in 1952 for the 481 cities, including \$10,098,914,000 of long-term debt. The long-term debt was up 4.9 per cent from the \$9,628,000,000 in 1951, and comprised \$8,374,000,000 of full faith and credit obligations and \$1,725,000,000 classed by the Census Bureau as "nonguaranteed," representing mainly revenue bonds. The part of the long-term debt incurred for utility purposes is not separately shown by the Bureau's data, but it may be noted that long-term debt issued in total amounted to \$1,015,000,000, compared with \$539,000,000,000 retired.

New York Transit Gains Third in First Month of 15-Cent Fare

The first full month of operation of New York City's transit system under

¹Summary of City Government Finances in 1952. U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C., 1953. 19 pp. 25 cents.

the new fifteen-cent fare yielded total revenues 34.3 per cent higher than in August 1952, while the number of passengers declined 10.4 per cent compared with the month a year earlier, according to preliminary press reports of operations. Prior to the fare increase, it had been estimated that the new rate would increase revenues by 35 per cent, with an accompanying traffic decline of 11.1 per cent. The fare was increased from ten cents to fifteen cents on July 25, 1953.

The city-owned transit system, comprising both surface and subway lines, carried 139,191,462 passengers in August 1953, and received \$20,887,560 in passenger revenues. In August 1952, 155,409,733 passengers had paid \$15,551,007.

The total figures disclosed a divergent trend between the surface and subway lines, however. The subways, including the elevated railroad lines, suffered only a 7.4 per cent traffic loss and gained 38.9 per cent in revenues in August 1953, compared with the 1952 month. The bus lines, however, sustained a traffic loss of 18.9 per cent and gained only 21.5 per cent in revenues for the same period.

On a fiscal year basis, the new fare is expected to increase transit revenues by at least \$62,000,000. The new Transit Authority plans to use part of the increase to finance needed capital improvements, including repainting and repair of rolling stock and equipment. Workers, however, organized in the Transport Workers Union, a C.I.O. affiliate, were prepared to press demands late in September for a 25-cent per hour wage increase for the system's 44,000 employees.

St. Louis Asks Special Session to Extend City Earnings Tax

With the city of St. Louis earnings tax scheduled to expire April 1, 1954,

and the Missouri legislature not scheduled to be in session until 1955, St. Louis officials have asked the governor to call a special session of the legislature to extend the tax.

The city excise, levied at the rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent on the income of both residents and non-residents, failed to get reenactment from the 1953 session of the legislature.

Managers Study Special Assessment Use

Many cities are using special assessments to finance new street paving, sanitary sewers, curbs and gutters, sidewalks and other public improvements. Some 591 cities over 5,000 population use special assessments for paving, 540 for sewers, 539 for curbs and gutters and 527 to finance sidewalk construction, according to a survey made by the International City Managers' Association. In many cities repaving of streets, water main extensions, street lighting and off-street parking facilities also are financed by special assessments.

In general cities may use one or more of four methods of financing special assessment improvement projects: Reports from 679 cities disclose that 143 cities require complete or partial advance payment by property owners; 220 cities use temporary loans from city funds; 93 issue certificates or liens to the contractor for doing the work; and 450 cities sell special assessment bonds.

In 299 of the 450 cities where special assessment bonds are sold, the bonds are guaranteed by the full faith and credit of the city. The other 151 cities secure their bonds only by liens against the benefited properties.

Front footage of property is used exclusively by 473 cities as a factor to allocate costs of improvements to benefiting property owners. Another 138

cities use a combination of front footage and area to determine cost; 19 cities use area of the property exclusively; 11 use assessed valuation; 13 use a combination of area, front footage and assessed valuation; and 16 use a combination of front footage and value.

In 359 cities, special rules are used to allocate costs of improvements to corner lots, while 224 cities assess part of the cost against benefiting property that does not abut on improvements.

Retail Sales Tax Imposed by Pennsylvania

Pennsylvania's new 1 per cent retail sales tax went into effect September 1, to raise an estimated \$125,000,000 in new revenue during the 1953-55 biennium. Proceeds of the tax are dedicated to educational purposes.

Exemptions include sales of bakery products, milk, groceries and meat as food products for human consumption, but not candy and confectionery; clothing and shoes, but not jewelry; newspapers and periodicals; medicine on prescriptions; materials consumed in manufacture or agriculture; cigarettes; gasoline; intoxicating liquor, including beer; utility services, the gross receipts from which are already taxed by the state; and the performance of personal services. An amendment to the bill has exempted water bills and articles used for religious purposes.

Since the end of World War II, nine states have adopted the general sales tax to provide a new major source of revenue. Pennsylvania is the only state with a 1 per cent tax. Most of the others impose a 2 per cent rate. States with levies above 2 per cent, however, have increased from five in 1946 to ten in 1953.

There are now, in all, 32 states imposing sales and gross receipts taxes. According to the Federation of Tax

Administrators, 3 per cent sales taxes are levied by Alabama, California, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Michigan, North Carolina, Ohio, South Carolina and Washington. States imposing a 2 per cent sales tax are Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah, West Virginia, Wyoming and the District of Columbia. Indiana, under its gross income tax, subjects sales by retail merchants to a tax of $\frac{5}{8}$ of 1 per cent and Pennsylvania has a 1 per cent tax.

Federal Onslaught Against State Revenues Proposed

Pennsylvania's adoption of a retail sales tax, raising to 32 the number of states using such an excise, emphasizes the concurrent publicity being given by proponents to adoption of a federal sales tax. According to the *New York Times*, more than two-score plans for a federal sales tax have been prepared by the U.S. Treasury Department, as substitute revenue measures to be presented to Congress in connection with the automatic expiration of the excess profits tax and reduction of income taxes next year.

The "principle" of a federal sales tax has been approved by several large business groups, including the National Association of Manufacturers and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, according to press reports. So far, the only nationally prominent business group to oppose it has been the National Retail Dry Goods Association. Vociiferous objections are expected from a number of the states, if and when actual proposals are before the Congress, since in a number of states the sales tax is the major source of revenue for non-highway purposes.

Citizen Action

Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Citizen Groups Nominate Candidates

Seek Capable Citizens to Support for City Councils

NUMEROUS civic groups are looking forward to the fall elections and preparing to support a slate of candidates for election to the city council.

The Citizens' Plan E Association of Worcester, which has elected a majority of the city councilmen since inauguration of the council-manager plan in 1950, is stepping up its public relations campaign in preparation. Plans call for talks before civic groups, training sessions for new members of the speakers' bureau, issuance of an illustrated pamphlet explaining proportional representation (the method of electing the city council and school committee in Worcester), speeches in foreign languages before nationality groups and neighborhood meetings.

The City Charter Committee of Cincinnati announced its slate of nine candidates for the city council in July. The slate includes two incumbent councilmen, five newcomers and two candidates who were strong runners-up in the 1951 election.

The Charter Committee has distributed an attractive leaflet, *This Year Elect Councilmen You Can Trust*, with pictures and biographies of its candidates. A special Citizens Committee, made up of prominent Cincinnatians, will head campaign activities. Councilmen in Cincinnati are also elected by proportional representation.

The Good Citizens League of Sioux City, Iowa, has named a committee of fourteen members, representing all sections and interests of the city, to choose

candidates to be supported by the league for election to the first city council under the manager plan. "Their major objective should be," says the Sioux City *Journal*, "to single out five of the city's most capable citizens — permanent residents whose honesty and ability are unquestioned — and then convince these persons they should run for the council. The city manager plan will function no better than the quality of men who make the policy. They must be chosen well." Sioux City adopted the council-manager plan in April of this year.

The Council-manager Association of Iowa City is also at work selecting candidates which it will support for the city council in November. Members have been asked to suggest names, which will be turned over to the candidates committee. The association, according to Chairman Roy Ewers, will probably endorse three persons, one for each of the council positions to be filled. "The council-manager plan thrives when, and only when, it has the support of active and informed citizens," wrote Mr. Ewers to members of the association.

The Citizens League of Cleveland has appointed its candidates committee which will mail questionnaires to all candidates for public office. Later the committee will interview the candidates and make recommendations to the League's board of trustees.

The Minneapolis *Tribune* of May 6, 7, 8 and 9, published the *Voter's Guide* of the Citizens League of Greater Minneapolis. The *Guide* included the reports of the committee on candidates at the May 11 city primary, giving brief biographical sketches, candidates' answers to questions on issues and the committee's comments on the candidates' understanding of duties and responsibilities of the job and the prob-

lems to be faced, their training for the job, etc. There were 74 candidates for the thirteen places on the city council alone.

The Charter Government Committee of Phoenix, Arizona, will seek election of councilmanic candidates who will support the city's council-manager charter.

The Citizens Union of New York City, which does not nominate its own ticket but makes recommendations among candidates on the ballot, gave wide publicity to its recommendations for the September 15 primary, including candidates for mayor. It will publish its usual *Voters' Directory*, distributing some 100,000 copies, a few weeks prior to the November elections.

The Detroit Citizens League, in its *Civic Searchlight* for August-September, lists candidates running in the September primaries, noting those which it considers "preferred" or "qualified." A short biography of each candidate is set forth and a proposed charter amendment is described with a recommendation that it be supported.

Other organizations endorsing local candidates include the Cambridge (Massachusetts) Civic Association, Richmond (Virginia) Citizens Association, Municipal League of Seattle and King County, and the Citizens League of Pawtucket, Rhode Island.

Citizen Planning Groups Seek to Preserve Cities

In order to keep the business district of Central San Francisco from becoming a "ghost town," 50 civic and business leaders have formed the Forward San Francisco Committee. Its aim is stated as follows: "The problem presented is that of selection of that 'balance' of the several agencies of movement which will best serve to preserve the integrity of the

business center of the city and of residential and secondary business areas as well—and which are financially and engineeringly feasible to connect the city with all parts of the bay area."

According to the *Seattle Municipal News*, which reports on the matter, these "agencies of movement" include "mass transportation, which includes the facilities of the city and suburban transit systems; vehicular traffic flow, which includes freeways and limited access arterials, downtown and secondary business street patterns; and the terminal parking of automobiles, which includes downtown limited parking and perimeter or fringe all-day parking."

An article on "Decentralization," by Colonel Marmion D. Mills, adviser to the transit and traffic section of the Forward San Francisco Committee, has been distributed by the Central Atlanta Improvement Association with its *Newsletter* of July 9. It discusses "the flight of retail stores to outlying areas—particularly to the new perimeter shopping centers."

The Ins and Outs of Planning, "A Citizens' Guide to Planning for New Jersey Towns and Townships," has been issued by the New Jersey Department of Conservation and Economic Development and the Southern New Jersey Development Council. Sixteen pages, with interesting illustrations, the pamphlet sells for 50 cents.

The Regional Plan Association, covering metropolitan New York City, including Northern New Jersey and Connecticut, has issued a four-page mimeographed list of its publications, with their prices.

In Cincinnati, "New, hitherto untried approaches to Cincinnati's No. 1 and No. 2 problems—suburbanitis and downtown traffic congestion—are being explored by the City Charter

Committee's subcommittee on long range policy," according to the committee's *Queen City News*. "Leaders of the study already have proposed two challenging departures from precedent in (1) creation of a metropolitan level of municipal service, and (2) decentralization of parking facilities in the business area." Mrs. Iola O. Hessler, member of the City Planning Commission, is chairman of the committee on long range policy.

Cincinnati's Citizens Development Committee is also in the middle of efforts to solve the city's planning problems. Recent *Bulletins* publish articles on the subject. That for April carries "A Retailer Looks at Planning," by Fred Lazarus, Jr., the Development Committee's president; that for June, "The Five Objectives of Our Planning Program," by Sydney H. Williams, Cincinnati's director of planning.

The British Columbia Division of the Community Planning Association of Canada, has published a report (42 pages) on its Fifth Regional Conference at Vancouver, February 27. Among the subjects discussed were The Needs of Metropolitan Industry, The Needs of Metropolitan Transportation, The Needs of Residential Neighborhoods and Metropolitan Agencies in Greater Vancouver.

Urges Nonpartisan Elections

In a letter to the editor of the *New Rochelle (New York) Standard-Star*, Stanley H. Renton, president of the Charter League of that city, urges adoption of an amendment to the city charter to provide nonpartisan ballots for councilmanic elections. Says he, "Over a thousand American communities have . . . kicked out all the political parties so far as local elections are concerned. Nominations are made by petition only, not by smoke-filled

caucuses. No party names or emblems are allowed. With no party crutches to lean on, the voters have to find out at least the names of the candidates they wish to vote for, and usually learn a little something more about them."

Committees Make Reports

A 75-page report on the Minneapolis General Hospital has been made by the Citizens League of Greater Minneapolis. Release of the report brought banner headlines in the *Minneapolis Star*, daily newspaper. According to the organization's *News Bulletin*, "the hospital report is the first detailed study of a local government operation made by the League." The study had been requested by Mayor Eric G. Hoyer.

Two important reports have been issued by the New Boston Committee. One, *Boston's Neighborhoods — An Action Program for Their Conservation* (21 pages), was prepared by its Rehabilitation Committee; the other, a survey of the financial and taxation problems of the city of Boston, was conducted by Dr. Arnold M. Soloway of Harvard University under the auspices of the Subcommittee on Taxation.

Organize for Manager Plan

In Missoula, Montana, the Citizens Committee for Better Government has as its chief aim adoption of council-manager government for the city. At its organization meeting the committee heard Dr. Donald J. Emblen, of the Montana State University's Business Administration School, who discussed the history and benefits of the manager plan.

The City Manager League of Springfield, Massachusetts, organized to secure the council-manager plan, has passed its first hurdle. The petitions it filed, asking for a referendum on the plan, have been

accepted and the question will be on the November ballot. The league has opened headquarters in a store on one of the main streets and plans an aggressive educational campaign.

The Association of Commerce of Joliet, Illinois, has announced that its poll of members on the council-manager plan showed an eight-to-one vote for that form of government over other forms. Stated percentagewise, 80 per cent of those voting favored the manager plan, 7 per cent favored the aldermanic form — a system which existed in Joliet until 1915, and 13 per cent the present commission plan. More than 50 per cent of the membership returned ballots.

Members of the League of Women Voters of Webster Groves, Missouri, voted June 3 to support the council-manager plan of government. The decision followed over a year's study of the subject.

Seek New Constitutions

The League of Women Voters of California has appointed a committee to study the possibilities for a constitutional revision campaign. The committee plans to analyze constitutional revisions made in recent years in other states.

Among the groups urging the calling of a constitutional convention in Louisiana are the Louisiana Bar Association, the League of Women Voters of Louisiana, and the Louisiana Junior Chamber of Commerce. The present constitution, adopted in 1921, is the state's tenth, reports the Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana. It has been amended 302 times and is the longest state constitution in the country.

"Should Our Indiana Constitution Be Revised?" is the question raised by the League of Women Voters of Indiana in a recently issued eight-page booklet. Discussed is the method of revision, apportionment and the short ballot.

Senate Felicitates Club

The State Senate of Illinois has adopted a resolution extending "our heartiest congratulations to the City Club of Chicago" on its golden anniversary celebration.

New Bulletin

Civic News is the name of a bulletin published by the Citizens of Greater Chicago. Recent issues deal with the actions taken by the Delegates Assembly of the organization held July 29 and with the need for judicial reform.

Neighborhood Meetings

The Citizens' Association of Kansas City, Missouri, has been holding a series of district meetings, according to its bulletin, *The Kansas City Citizen*. Purpose of the meetings is "to acquaint all residents of the district with the activities and purposes of the Citizens' Association and to give them a first hand account of present problems confronting the city government."

Annual Reports

The Stark County Tax League, Canton, Ohio, has issued its *Annual Report, July 1, 1953*. It not only covers governmental statistics for Canton and Stark County, but also contains some statistics for Ohio and for the nation.

Operations of the Municipal League of Seattle and King County During Incumbency of Ben B. Ehrlichman as President contains the highlights of that organization's work, as well as committee activities, from July 1, 1952, to June 1, 1953. An attractive leaflet of the league is called *A Citizens' Group Which Gets Things Done!*

This Is What We Do (sixteen pages, photographs) is a combined report of operations for 1952-1953 of the Citizens' Civic Association, Inc., and Citizens' Council of Allen County (Fort Wayne), Indiana.

Researcher's Digest

Edited by John E. Bebout

State, Local Fiscal Picture Investigated

Number of Financial Studies Indicates Increased Interest

A WEALTH of statistical information will be available to the National Commission on Intergovernmental Relations when it addresses itself to the question of the fiscal resources which should be allocated to each level of government. It is evident that the whole fiscal picture at the state and local levels is being rethought, in a rather piecemeal manner to be sure.

The increasing frequency of studies on this subject is indicative of this fact. These studies should interest the new federal survey commission both for the data which they reveal and the interpretation placed upon that data by taxation-conscious state and local officials and citizen organizations. A number of states are taking a fresh look at "trends" in public finance. A few of the more recent studies are mentioned here. Others have been noted in earlier issues of the REVIEW.

An information bulletin of the Texas Legislative Council, *A Survey of Taxation in Texas* (48 pages), includes a graphic presentation of Texas revenue receipts since 1929. Lynn F. Anderson and T. E. McMillan, Jr., of the Institute of Public Affairs, University of Texas, have published a detailed analytical study of the Texas fiscal picture, *Financing State Government in Texas* (196 pages). The Pennsylvania Tax Study Committee, in its complete report *The Tax Problem* (329 pages), has assembled comparative statistics on taxation and expenditure in a number of states as well as comprehensive data on the Pennsylvania situation. The statistical summary in the *Louisiana*

State Tax Handbook—1953 (92 pages), published by Public Affairs Research Council of Louisiana, gives useful information on the complex Louisiana tax structure. *Trends in Public Finance—As They Affect Citizens and Taxpayers* (29 pages), compiled annually by the Tennessee Taxpayers' Association, presents in a concise manner data showing the burden of federal, state and local taxes.

An analytical report of the Tennessee Taxpayers' Association, *Sales Tax Collections* (25 pages), emphasizes the importance which the retail sales tax has assumed among state revenue sources. The Nebraska Citizens Council, in its *Report on the Sales Tax* (22 pages), evaluates the sales tax which has been proposed in Nebraska and summarizes the experience of other midwestern states in the sales tax field. *Local Sales Taxes in New York State* (13 pages) is the subject of a publication of the Cornell University Agriculture Experiment Station, by Frederick D. Stocker.

A recent number of the Citizen's Pamphlet Series published by the Governmental Research Center of the University of Kansas, *Recent Trends in County Finance 1947-1951* (34 pages), by Harry O. Lawson, summarizes the postwar financial experience of counties in Kansas. County tax revenues in Wisconsin are discussed in *Wisconsin Taxpayer*, published by the Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, for July. "Ten Years of Total Property Tax Levied in California Counties" are summarized in the California Taxpayers' Association's *Tax Digest* for May 1953.

Among the more comprehensive of recent studies of municipal revenue problems is the collection of staff memoranda of the Illinois Legislative Commission on Municipal Revenue, edited by

Jack Isakoff and Gilbert Y. Steiner. It is published in one volume, *Illinois Municipal Revenue* (228 pages), by the University of Illinois' Institute of Government and Public Affairs. These memoranda go far beyond routine statistical reporting and get into a number of aspects of state-local relations on fiscal matters. The discussion of the full assessment program in Illinois should be of particular interest to the many officials who have become exercised about the perennial problem of property assessment. An article in the July number of *Tax Digest*, "Assessment of Rural Lands" by Crowell D. Eddy, deals with a further dimension of this same problem.

Another impressive study is Wylie Kilpatrick's *Revenue and Debt of Florida Municipalities and Overlying Governments* (285 pages), a joint publication of the Bureau of Economic and Business Research and the Public Administration Clearing Service of the University of Florida. The report's summary in the form of basic questions and brief answers provides the reader with a bird's-eye view of the financial picture of Florida local governments.

Since the passage of Law 481, the action of Pennsylvania municipalities has been of general interest. The Pennsylvania Economy League (Western Division) has recently released a *Score Sheet for the Cities*, giving a fiscal comparison of 25 third-class cities in western Pennsylvania.

Another fiscal problem which must be included in the survey of intergovernmental relationships is the financing of capital improvements. An article in the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago's *Business Conditions* (January 1953) focused attention upon "The 100 Billion Dollar Backlog" of state and local public works. This article, and one from *Business Conditions* for February, "Lagging State-Local Tax Systems," were condensed in the March number of *Public Manage-*

ment (International City Managers' Association) under the title, "The Backlog of Needed Public Facilities and Methods of Financing." The entire May number of *Municipal Finance* deals with the finance officer and municipal bonds. *Tax Policy* for May-June contains a paper on the subject, "Paying for Public Works," by Jeanne-Louise Haviland.

WILLIAM N. CASSELLA, JR.

Annexation Studies

A study of the feasibility of various annexation schemes has recently been completed by the council and administration of the city of Midland, Michigan, (population 16,136). In its thoroughness, comprehensiveness and in other ways, the study should serve as a model for other small but fast-growing communities.

Philip N. Royal, principal engineer of the Seattle engineering department, has written a valuable *Report on Annexation Procedure and Policies in Effect in 16 Major Cities in the United States* (Seattle, 1953, 84 pages). Using material gathered in visits to some of the country's largest cities, the author describes and criticizes existing law and policies on annexation. Among several other recommendations for Seattle, Mr. Royal calls for adoption of a modified Virginia plan of judicial review of council annexation or adoption of a plan similar to Annexation Law Number One, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Civil Rights Defended

Two recent items are of especial interest in view of the many attacks launched against civil rights since World War II. University of Pennsylvania Law Professor Clark Bys has published a scathing indictment of the Pennsylvania attempt to establish stricter security requirements for state employees in "A Report on the

"Pennsylvania Loyalty Act," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, January 1953. After thoroughly reviewing the provisions of the law, he looks at the experience in administering it and finds it has led to gross injustices among the few employees refusing to comply with its letter. He searches the history of oath provisions in other states and municipalities and finds that such laws have usually not punished Communists but have hit Quakers "and other idealists and non-conformists." "Instead of coming to grips with the problem of communism or of ascertaining why misguided Americans become Communists, and of trying to reclaim them to democracy's ranks, the act represents a surrender to the not uncommon weakness of 'enacting a law'—a law which purportedly meets a need, but which in fact does little, if anything, to remedy the underlying evil."

Judge Sidney Goldmann of the Chancery Division of the Superior Court of New Jersey, in his decision in the case of *Bantam Books, Inc., v. Matthew F. Melko*, March 31, 1953, held that Mr. Melko, prosecutor of Middlesex County, was exercising arbitrary censorship through methods that were plainly unconstitutional. The prosecutor, acting for a private committee on "objectionable literature," had persuaded book dealers to remove certain books from their shelves by writing them letters and through investigations by his staff detectives. Judge Goldmann's opinion is noteworthy for its lengthy research of the history of censorship and the legal precedents on the subject.

Making City Surveys

Under the pseudonym of J. Dennis, a series of three articles about surveying a city's administration has recently appeared in *Public Management*:

"Planning an Administrative Survey" (September 1952); "Conducting an Administrative Survey" (February 1953); and "Results of an Administrative Survey" (May 1953). Written in a narrative style about a hypothetical city, the series discusses many worthwhile points "real life" cities might adopt in their future surveys.

Professor E. Foster Dowell, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, has prepared a thorough and interesting study of the government of Enid, Oklahoma, as part of a more general survey by the college's Agricultural-Industrial Development Service, of the economic resources of the city and its surrounding territory (*A Study of the Government of Enid, Stillwater*, 1953, 139 pages). He describes and criticizes in some detail the city charter, ordinances, administrative structure and administrative procedures and practices. The summary of recommendations is a clear and practical checklist of things to be done.

Kansas Legislative Proposals

The 1953 Kansas legislature presented twelve proposals to the Legislative Council for study and report to the 1955 legislature. In *Agenda for Council Meeting, May 13, 1953* (Topeka, 1953, 89 pages), the Research Department of the council has issued a preliminary review of each proposal. Among the subjects covered are periodic vehicle inspection, conformity with federal income tax provisions, presidential primaries and high school finance.

Libraries as Reference Service

In "A Local Research Service for City Officials" (*Public Management*, May 1953), Mary F. Mitchell argues that in most cities the public library can provide a valuable reference service for municipal officials.

Bureau Notes

Next winter a new publication, *The Journal of Public Administration*, will be launched by the New York University Chapter of the American Society for Public Administration. To be issued quarterly, the *Journal* will feature outstanding student reports, thesis abstracts and articles by authorities in the field of public administration.

The Texas Research League has announced that it will study public school financing in Texas for the State Board of Education. The final report will include suggestions for improving the current systems of financing and school districts.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Authorities

The Problem of Boston's Metropolitan Transit Authority. By Warren H. Deem. Cambridge, Harvard University, Graduate School of Public Administration, Bureau for Research in Municipal Government, 1953. 70 pp.

Bridges

Bay Crossing Problem. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin*, July 9, 1953. 2 pp.

Budgets

The Budget and Revenue Structure of New York City. New York 17, Citizens Budget Commission, Inc., *Information Bulletin*, June 1, 1953. 4 pp.

A Report on West Virginia Municipal and County Budgets 1953. By Harold J. Shamberger. Morgantown, West Virginia University, Bureau for Government Research, 1953, 28 pp.

Business Districts

Future of the Central Business District. While the economic importance of the central business district has declined, it is still the only focus for many urban activities. By J. D. Carroll, Jr. Chicago 37, International

City Managers' Association, *Public Management*, July 1953. 4 pp.

Consolidation

Advantages and Disadvantages of the Consolidation of the Town of Lake with the City of Milwaukee. Report to Town of Lake Civic Study Committee. Town Lake (Wisconsin), Office of the Budget Supervisor, 1953. 22 pp.

Coroner

The Office of County Coroner in Kansas. By George S. Blair. Emporia, Kansas State Teachers College, The Emporia State Research Studies, June 1953. 21 pp.

Crime

Protection Against Burglary. By Richard L. Holcomb. Iowa City, State University of Iowa, Institute of Public Affairs, 1953. 54 pp.

Directories

Louisiana State Agencies Handbook. Baton Rouge, Public Affairs Research Council, 1953. 217 pp. \$1.50.

Twenty-sixth Annual Directory of Michigan Municipal Officials. 1953-1954. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1953. 72 pp. \$3.50.

Fluoridation

Progress of Fluoridation. By E. L. Ludwig. Vermillion, League of South Dakota Municipalities, *South Dakota Municipalities*, May 1953. 3 pp. 10 cents.

Home Rule

Home Rule Upheld. By John Wyngaard. Madison 3, League of Wisconsin Municipalities, *The Municipality*, July 1953. 2 pp.

Industry

The Economic Importance of Port-Linked Manufacturing Industries in the Baltimore Metropolitan Area. Baltimore 2, Maryland State Planning Commission, May 1953. 57 pp. 50 cents.

Intergovernmental Relations

The Crossword Puzzle of Government Relations. Burlington, League

of Iowa Municipalities, *Monthly Magazine*, July 1953. 9 pp.

Legislative Advisory Committees

Advisory Committees in the Legislative Process. By Gladys M. Kammerer. Gainesville, Southern Political Science Association in cooperation with the University of Florida, *Journal of Politics*, May 1953. 26 pp.

Licensing

Study of Administrative Procedure before Examining and Licensing Boards in North Carolina. By Max O. Cogburn and Ernest W. Machen, Jr. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, Institute of Government, 1953. 107 pp.

Personnel

Should City Join Federal Social Security System? Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business*, June 8, 1953. 4 pp.

Primaries

Primary Elections as the Alternative to Party Competition in "Safe" Districts. By Julius Turner. Gainesville, Southern Political Science Association in cooperation with the University of Florida, *Journal of Politics*, May 1953. 14 pp.

Public Relations

A Selected and Annotated Bibliography of Public Relations (revised). By William A. Nielander. Austin, University of Texas, Bureau of Business Research, 1952. 29 pp.

Public Welfare

Report of the Temporary State Commission to Study Federally Aided Welfare Programs. Albany, the Commission, 1953. 16 pp.

Sanitation

Sanitary Engineering and Water Registrar. Washington, D. C., Government of the District of Columbia, Department of General Administration, Management Office, 1953. v, 71 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Debits and Credits. The Fiscal Return from Pittsburgh's Redevelopment Program. Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *P. E. L. Newsletter*, June 1953. 8 pp., tables.

Financial Record of the 1953 Minnesota State Legislature. St. Paul 1, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research Inc., June 1953. 11 pp.

Financial Review. A Guidebook to Newark Municipal Finance. Newark (New Jersey), Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., 1953. 42 pp.

A Mid-1953 Analysis of Pennsylvania Budget and Revenue Requirements. By Arnold L. Edmonds. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce, 1953. 51 pp.

Nonproperty Tax Revenues. By Charles F. LeeDecker. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, *Michigan Municipal Review*, May 1953. 3 pp. 30 cents.

Total General Fund Expenditures of Wyoming Counties and First Class Cities and School Districts 1949-1953. Cheyenne, Wyoming Taxpayers Association, July 1953. 23 pp.

Tax Exemption

Tax Exemption of Elected Municipal Officers' Expense Allowances. Montreal, Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities, *Listening Post*, June 1953. 1 p.

Traffic Safety

Municipal Regulation of Traffic View Obstructions. Seattle 5, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, in cooperation with Association of Washington Cities, 1953. v, 103 pp. \$2.00.

Unemployment Insurance

Unemployment Insurance for Farm Workers. By Margaret Greenfield. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1953. vi, 49 pp. \$1.25.

Books in Review

State Supervision of Municipal Finance. By T. E. McMillan, Jr. Austin, University of Texas, Institute of Public Affairs, 1953. 100 pp. \$1.00.

This study comes as a welcome addition to the literature on state-local relations. It brings up to date much of the analysis of the same general problems made by Wylie Kilpatrick more than ten years ago.¹

The five areas of state activity in the supervision of local finance—accounting, auditing, reporting, budgeting and debt management—are described in a clear and concise manner. The textual treatment is not burdened with a detailed recitation of variations found from state to state. Significant differences are noted but appendix tables are used to present comparative detail. Carefully drawn conclusions emphasize that in the field of state supervision "rigidity is to be avoided as in usurpation of local responsibility."

McMillan's differentiation between municipal and private enterprise accounting shows emphatically that governmental accounting is something quite apart from business bookkeeping. The end of auditing should be more than the detection of fraud. Along with other aspects of financial reporting the audit should be presented in a form that is meaningful to the citizenry or, as the author puts it, "in a consumable fashion."

It is suggested that state supervision of budgeting might aid in placing municipal budgeting on a program or performance basis. In connection with debt management the requirement of

a flexible scheme of state controls is particularly important because of the variations in types of indebtedness and the means used to evade rigid controls. It is to be regretted that mention is not made of the New Jersey arrangement whereby specific statutory debt limits are provided for local units subject to exceptions authorized by the appropriate state administrative agency.

Some readers will be disappointed that there is no systematic treatment of state agencies administering controls. However, this subject could be covered in a separate study devoted entirely to organization. McMillan chose to limit this discussion to the areas of supervision.

WILLIAM N. CASSELLA, JR.

Shopping Centers—Principles and Policies. By J. Ross McKeever. Washington, D. C., Urban Land Institute, 1953. 92 pp. \$6.00.

A charming, complete and readable review, copiously illustrated, of the new art of planning modern shopping centers on the fringes of cities for the modern well-spread-out residential countrysides of our automobile age.

R. S. C.

Ideas and Issues in Public Administration. A Book of Readings. By Dwight Waldo. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1953. x, 462 pp. \$5.50.

This excellent book of readings is intended for use in college courses in public administration, but it contains numerous selections any person in public affairs could read with profit. An impressive list of authors includes John M. Gaus, Woodrow Wilson, Charles A. Beard, Paul H. Appleby, Harold D. Smith, Sir Henry N. Bury and others.

¹*State Supervision of Local Budgeting*, National Municipal League, New York, 1939; *State Supervision of Local Finance*, Public Administration Service, Chicago, 1941.

Although there are too few selections from the field of state-local administration, at least one selection, "The Blast in Centralia No. 5," by John B. Martin, is remarkable for the penetrating insight it gives into the complexities of administration in the present federal system.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Budgets

A Mid-1953 Analysis of Pennsylvania Budget and Revenue Requirements. By Arnold L. Edmonds. (Address before Tax Institute Conference on "The Pennsylvania Tax Question.") Harrisburg, Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce, 1953. 23 pp.

Campaign Financing

Financing Presidential Campaigns. A Selected Bibliography of 1952 Literature. By Isabella Mallory Hayes. College Park, University of Maryland, Library, 1953. 12 pp.

Civil Defense

Home Shelters for Family Protection in an Atomic Attack. Washington 25, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1953. iv, 86 pp. 30 cents.

Community Life

Mobility—A New Aspect of Community Life. By Richard D. Duke. Washington 6, D.C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land*, July-August 1953. 7 pp.

Crime

Organized Crime and Law Enforcement (two volumes). Edited by Morris Ploscowe. New York 38, The Grosby Press, 1952-1953. 318 and 259 pp. respectively. \$5 each.

Debt

Directory of Municipal Bond Dealers of the United States. New York

4, The Bond Buyer, 1953. 492 pp. \$1.00.

Directories

U. S. Citizens in World Affairs. A Directory of Non-Governmental Organizations. Who They Are, What They Do. By Katharine C. Garrigue. New York 17, Foreign Policy Association, 1953. iii, 389 pp. \$3.50 paper, \$5.00 cloth.

Education

Illinois School Problems. Final Report. Springfield, Illinois School Problems Commission No. 2, 1953. 123 pp.

Federal Government

United States Government Organization Manual 1953-54. By General Services Administration, National Archives and Records Service, Federal Register Division. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, 1953. 734 pp. \$1.00.

Legislative Bodies

Mason's Manual of Legislative Procedure for Legislative and Other Governmental Bodies. By Paul Mason. New York 36, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1953. 640 pp. \$6.50.

International Relations

NATO and World Peace. Edited by Ernest Minor Patterson. Philadelphia 4, American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals*, July 1953. vii, 152 pp. \$2.00.

Municipal Government

Final Report to the Mayor and City Council of the City of Los Angeles. Comments and Recommendations on Municipal Art Department. Comments and Recommendations on Recreation and Parks Department. Comments and Recommendations on Real Property Control. Recommendations for Reorganization of Receiving Hospital and Ambulance Services. Recommendations for Reorganization of the Los Angeles Public Library. Recommendations for Reorganization of the

Department of Public Works. 2nd Progress Report. By Los Angeles Commission for Reorganization of the City Government. Los Angeles 12, the Commission, 1951-1953. 21, 5, 11, 15, 10, 11, 15 and 23 pp. respectively.

Greensboro Today . . . Will Be Greater Greensboro Tomorrow. By George H. Esser, Jr. Greensboro (North Carolina), City Council, 1953. 57 pp. Illus.

Municipal Codes, Charters and Ordinances in the University of Illinois Library. Urbana, University of Illinois, Library, 1953. 21 pp.

A Survey of the Municipal Organization and Administration of the City of Rockford, Illinois. By John James Hunnewell. Rockford, Civic League, Inc., 1953. xvi, 203 pp.

Parking

Vertical Parking Garages. By Charles W. Lerch. Chicago 4, Charles W. Lerch & Associates, 1953. 12 pp.

Personnel

"Fringe Benefits"—Practices and Costs in Michigan Municipalities. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1953. 113 pp. \$4.00.

Public Works

Paying for Public Works. Princeton (New Jersey), Tax Institute, *Tax Policy*, May-June 1953. 12 pp. 50 cents.

Recreation

Planning for Recreation. A Guide for Tennessee Communities. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1953. 37 pp. Illus. \$1.00.

Report, Fifth Annual California Recreation Conference, February 10-13, 1953, Long Beach, California. Sacramento, State of California Recreation Commission, 1953. 63 pp.

Service Charges

Sanitary Service Charges in Tennessee, 1953. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1953. iii, 115 pp. \$1.00.

Streets and Highways

How to Plan and Pay for Better Highways. (A report on General Motors Better Highways Awards.) Detroit 2, General Motors, Department of Public Relations, 1953. 99 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Municipal Security Analysis and Bank Investment Problems. A discussion of investment problems of banking institutions related to the analytical techniques for judging municipal credit. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1953. 7 pp. Charts. 50 cents.

Revised Summary of State Government Finances, 1942-1950. By U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1953. 69 pp. 35 cents.

Summary of City Government Finances in 1952. By Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census Governments Division. Washington 25, D. C., the Bureau, 1953. 19 pp. Tables, charts.

Two Decades of the Tax Institute Princeton (New Jersey), Tax Institute, *Tax Policy*, March-April 1953. 16 pp. 25 cents.

Traffic Safety

Operation Safety. Program Kit of Traffic Safety Promotion. Theme for November 1953: **Pedestrian Safety**. Chicago 11, National Safety Council. Variously paged.

Trees

Disposal of Trees—Big Problem for Municipalities. Albany, New York, State Conference of Mayors, Bureau of Municipal Training, 1952. 3 pp.

Trees—Planting, Trimming, Removal and Spraying. Albany, New York, State Conference of Mayors, Bureau of Municipal Information, 1952. 15 pp.

Keith Named to League Staff

John P. Keith, for the past two years senior staff research associate for the Citizens Research Council of Michigan, has joined the staff of the National Municipal League.

From 1948 to 1951, Mr. Keith served as a social science research associate with the Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Texas. He was also research assistant with the Providence Governmental Research Bureau in 1945 and '46.

While with the Citizens Research Council of Michigan, Mr. Keith participated in the preparation of the *Report on the General Management of the Michigan State Government* and the *Report on Michigan Regulatory Agencies*. In Texas he wrote *City and County Game Rule in Texas*, *A Public Relations Program for a Citizens Committee* and *Methods of Constitutional Revision*. He served as secretary of the Texas Citizens Committee on the Constitution and of the Citizens Committee for Reorganization of Michigan State Government.

He holds a B.A. degree from the University of Arizona, M.P.A. from Wayne University and D.P.A. from the Institute of Public Administration.

Reserve Your Room!

Don't forget to make your reservations early at the Jefferson Hotel, headquarters for this year's National Conference on Government in Richmond, Virginia. That way you'll have a better chance to get just the kind of accommodations you want.



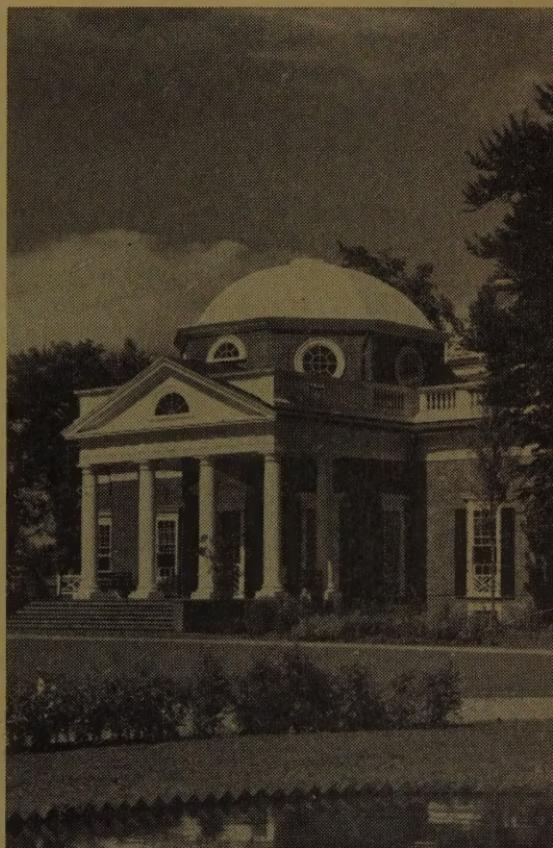
John P. Keith

Historic Charlottesville Has Many Attractions

For those Conference-goers who are planning side trips to some of the historic spots in Virginia either before or after the 1953 sessions at Richmond, a journey to Charlottesville will be well worth the time.

Only 70 miles from Richmond, this city is the site of Monticello, Thomas Jefferson's home, which he designed and built, and of the University of Virginia, founded and also designed by Jefferson. Also at Charlottesville is Ash Manor, home of James Madison. All these buildings are open to the public.

Monticello, Thomas Jefferson's stately home, where the great early American statesman now lies buried.



League Issues Civic Manuals

Two manuals, long needed by civic campaigners, will be published by the National Municipal League this month. The titles are *The Citizen Association: How to Organize and Run It* and *The Citizen Association: How to Win Civic Campaigns*.

The manuals summarize what the League has learned about organizing and campaigning for two generations. The texts were prepared by Alexander L. Crosby, who has written several other pamphlets for the League. League staff members edited the manuscripts and more than 25 civic leaders in various cities contributed their criticisms.

"Judging from comments we have had on the preliminary drafts, the two pamphlets will be highly useful," Executive Director Alfred Willoughby says. "Our aim was to answer every important question that an active citizen would ask. We have cited dozens of actual examples of successful techniques instead of preaching theory."

"Although the manuals are intended primarily for citizens who don't have a long backlog of experience, we have included a great deal of material that will be valued by veterans in the field of citizen action. These booklets will, we are confident, help to increase the percentage of citizen victories. Almost any battle can be won if the campaign is intelligently planned and expertly managed."

Fresh data for the manuals were obtained by sending 17-page questionnaires to 37 leading citizen organizations, most of which replied in detail. Many gave case histories of their most significant campaigns. Fifteen of these stories were selected for publication in *How to Win Civic Campaigns*.

Advice on fund-raising techniques is

Weidner to Edit REVIEW Section

Professor Edward W. Weidner, of the Department of Political Sc

at Michigan College, is the editor of the Co and Township tation of the TIONAL MUNI REVIEW. He ceeds Elwyn Mauck, who linquished the recently w named public

ministration consultant in the State partment's Institute of Inter-Ame Affairs, a job taking him to Brazil

Professor Weidner was a memb the League's staff in 1944 and 1945 edited the Local Affairs Abroad se of the REVIEW from 1944 to 1947.

At Michigan State he is also dir of the Governmental Research Bu He has taught political science at University of California (Los Ang and at the University of Minne where he received his academic deg Dr. Weidner collaborated with Dr. liam Anderson at that institutio the ten volumes comprising a stu "International Relations in the U States as Observed in the Sta Minnesota." He is author of text on government as well as many a on the subject.

given in *The Citizen Association: to Organize and Run It.*

The 64-page pamphlets are 75 each, or \$1.20 for both. Discounts to 50 per cent apply on quantity so that a citizen group may pu copies for its entire membership.